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THE CONTEMPORARY CRISIS IN THOUGHT AND THE HISTORIAN *

"The meaning of history is not Caesar but Jesus: history tends not toward Caesar but toward Jesus."—*President Masaryk.*

I shall begin by indicating the point of view from which I approach the profoundly important subject which I venture to discuss. As I am neither a professional student nor teacher nor writer of Church history, it is only because I hope that my point of view may disclose, or at least suggest, a few minor yet useful possibilities for the practical application of the lessons of history to the social needs of this age of crisis that I am justified in addressing this audience.

You may remember the scene in Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* where the schoolmaster holds his spelling lesson. "Spell window," he bids one of his bewildered pupils. "W-I-N-D-E-R," responds the boy. "All right—now go and clean it," says the teacher. It is rather in the spirit of that symbolical episode that I am attempting my own task this evening. I am as little able to give the correct answers to the questions which the crisis of our age has raised as the urchin in Dotheboys Hall was able to spell out the single word assigned to him. His answer was partly right, however, and perhaps mine may be also. At any rate, by cleaning the window, he would let in a little more light, which would aid

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the other, and perhaps brighter, students, to study their subjects more successfully than he. Let me hope that no matter how badly I may stumble in my reading of my history lesson, I may let in a little light on one particular problem, which I think is in need of being studied both by the teachers and the students of Church history, namely, the problem of how to increase and improve the practical *use* of Church history by certain elements of our Catholic laity, for whom I shall attempt to speak.

Of course, I fully realize that although my hope to be of some slight service to the great work to which this Association is dedicated may be accepted as my justification for addressing you, such a hope does not guarantee success in my effort; however, let us make the venture.

The point of view from which I speak, then, has a double aspect: First, I think that I represent, although purely as an individual, and possessed of no authority to speak for others collectively, a fairly large and growing number of Catholic laymen who possess a general knowledge of the history of the Church, and who today are keenly, almost anxiously, desirous not only of extending and deepening their own knowledge, but also are desirous of assisting the custodians and the dispensers of the primary sources of that knowledge—namely, the historians and teachers of the history of the Church—to apply that knowledge to the benefit of the society of which they are a part. I lay stress upon the second clause of my description of the class of Catholic laymen to which I belong—namely, their desire to be socially useful—because it is the most important point in connection with this discussion; one to which I shall return later on. Secondly, I speak for a special group of Catholic laymen which while at present small is growing steadily, and which is potentially if not yet actually of high cultural influence. This group of laymen—and, of course, lay-women as well—is comprised of editors, writers, teachers and lecturers, many of whom are also members of various inter-faith and inter-racial committees and leagues and clubs of a socially cooperative nature. They are earnestly concerned with a great variety of very important problems: economic, scientific, educational, political, and

religious; and they are attempting to contribute what may be broadly described as Catholic ideas, Catholic traditions and experience, Catholic principles, Catholic suggestions—flowing from and in concordance with Catholic doctrine—to the discussion and possibly to the true solution of the vast complex of social problems which in their totality make up the world-crisis of human society today.

Speaking, now, in this doubly representative capacity, I lay down as the operative point of my whole discussion, this declaration: that to the Catholic layman of the two types I have described above, the history of the Church comes only second in importance to the doctrine of the Church in guiding and directing not only his purely personal and private life but also in guiding and directing his efforts to cooperation with his non-Catholic fellow citizens, according to the measure of his capacity or opportunities, in working for the favorable solution of the gigantic crisis in which all humanity is involved.

Leaving this statement unargued at present, as a preliminary to its application later on, let me now proceed to sketch a few other general ideas which I trust may serve to outline the view of the Catholic Church as it confronts world condition today which is presented to a lay Catholic journalist like myself, who is obliged from week to week—yes, from day to day: it would hardly be an exaggeration to say, from hour to hour—to labor as an observer of, and commentator upon, the almost chaotic succession of world events.

Two facts of almost inestimable importance are discoverable, it seems to me, by such an observer. First of all, the fact that the activities—all the activities: spiritual, intellectual, institutional, both direct and indirect—of the Catholic Church have become tremendously more energetic than was the case say twenty years ago; and, secondly, the still more important fact that the effects and consequences of these activities are not confined to the avowed members of the Church, but are also affecting profoundly the whole human society of which Catholics form a comparatively small minority, yet a highly important one because of the social con-

sequences of their beliefs as taught and controlled by a world-wide, centralized organization, by far the oldest and most deeply rooted of all human institutions.

I think that few competent observers of the trends of the age would deny, and most would agree, that since the close of the World War the Catholic Church has been positively active in a higher degree and on a broader scale than at any time since before the Counter Reform. It also seems clear to many of these observers, though on this point there is less agreement, that the Catholic Church is the one great institution to escape the inner confusion, or threatened confusion, which has overtaken practically all the nations and States and their forms of organization, along with the economic, political and social systems which have bound humanity together in an unstable, yet, on the whole, endurable, mode of life during the past few centuries.

Now, all things save the Catholic Church are in a condition of flux. The end of an epoch appears to have come and to have been followed by an interval of universal confusion. Today mankind is harried by world-wide revolutions and wars and threats of future wars; plagued by economic disaster on a gigantic scale; while millions upon many millions of men, women and children are suffering from bitter want in the midst of abundant food and of all the other material things necessary to human shelter and sustenance. Vast political and economic forces, their main ideas stemming from the writings of men like Marx the Communist, or Sorel the Syndicalist, and incorporating the instinctive yearnings of great multitudes, have arisen within a few years to change the life of the world more profoundly even than was done by the treaties after the war, when great empires were abolished and so many new nations were created. Communism, Fascism, National Socialism, functioning through dictatorships of various types, have struck harder blows at the social forms built up in the nineteenth century, or which had lasted from earlier times, than the war and peace treaties combined. While Russia, Turkey, Poland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain and Mexico have flamed with revolution or war, and their social systems have been violently changed or

radically transformed, all other European and American nations, without exception, have been affected in greater or lesser measure by the same or similar forces. Meanwhile, Asia and Africa are not immune; on the contrary, as we well know, China and India and Japan and Egypt and the black peoples of Africa are rising up in opposition to the dominance over them of Western powers, and simultaneously are struggling amongst themselves for economic or political or racial advantages or supremacy.

Although the statement may be disputed by others, both the leaders and the members of the Catholic Church necessarily hold to the belief that the Catholic Church alone remains unaffected by the disintegrating forces which are at work everywhere else; preparing the way, no doubt, for the advent of the new epoch, whatever that epoch may be. They hold that this is true in spite of many facts which may seem to disprove the statement. It might be said, for example, that the Church has been deeply affected, even in some respects changed, in its forms of action, by the treaty with Italy which settled the long-standing "Roman Question," and by the revolutions in Spain and Mexico and Germany and Russia. But such changes in the modes of her activity in no wise affect the essential activities of the Church, nor the unchanging nature of her mission in the world, however they may be limited here or there, or locally suppressed. There are great losses suffered by the Church, no doubt; material losses, and the falling away from her of many of her children, and the hampering of her work, and the restricting of her influence in many countries, as the vast world struggle goes on. But great renovations and new ground are gained elsewhere, and within the Church there is no grave interior struggle to hamper its work. Since the abortive movement known as "modernism" came to an end under Pius X some thirty years ago, the inner peace and harmony of Catholicism have not merely been undisturbed, but have been intensified. All the energies of the Church have been integrated in that remarkable and continuous positive activity which has characterized her since the ending of the World War, and more particularly since the election of Pope Pius XI in 1922.

Catholics, of course, and with them those non-believers who nevertheless are sympathetic to Catholicism (those, for example, who believe that Catholicism is an integral part, if not actually the fundamental basis, of European and American civilization, and who, therefore, hold that its religious doctrines, or anyhow the social effects of its doctrines and of its spiritual and moral discipline, are socially beneficial) necessarily rejoice in this extraordinary revival of the energetic, positive forces of the ancient Catholic Church. Protestant Christians, on the other hand, differ greatly in their reactions to this phenomenon. There are those, and perhaps they are an increasing number, who heartily welcome it. They believe that, in spite of what they regard as its errors in doctrine or discipline, or, particularly, its claims to supreme authority, Catholicism, when it is energetic and not feeble or lax, upholds and tends to unite the moral and educational forces of Christian civilization against the sapping, or the open attacks, by non-Christian or anti-Christian, or purely atheistic, opponents. Other Protestants, again, are puzzled, disturbed and uncertain, hardly knowing whether to be glad or sorry that the Church which seemed to them—and to the leaders of nineteenth-century secularism—to have definitely lost its powers in the world, has now so strangely and powerfully revived. Their point of view would seem to be that if Catholicism has at long last learned how to adjust itself, and to play a co-operative part, with other Christian bodies, then its new strength is welcome; but if, on the other hand, the Catholic Church intends or will be led by the inherent logic of its own doctrines to reassume a dictatorial rôle, then this Catholic renaissance is certain to become a source of embarrassment and perhaps of serious trouble. Others again—the dwindling descendants of those Protestant Christians, who were taught by the Centuriators of Magdeburg and by their many imitators in England and Scotland to regard Rome as Babylon the Accursed, the mother of all errors, and the Pope as anti-Christ himself—are frankly and painfully alarmed and regard the situation with the keenest apprehension. But perhaps this mood is a mere curiosity and not an active religious fact of the day. Still, it exists.

Outside the various Christian bodies, this renaissance of Catholicism creates a singular variety of reactions.

The leaders of the new religion of revolutionary materialism, popularly known as Marxian Communism, of which the dominating center is in Moscow, and which is organized almost as strictly and as logically as Catholicism itself, recognizes in the reawakened and militant energies of the world-wide Catholic Church, the chief and irreconcilable, if not unconquerable, enemy of its own equally extensive program of world unity among mankind. Outside of the ranks of organized or at present unorganized adherents of Communism, there are increasing multitudes of people who have dropped fellowship with all forms of organized and traditional supernatural religion (including orthodox Judaism). These people are either contemptuously indifferent to the revival of Catholicism, regarding it as a temporary and evanescent thing, something rather like the last rally of an incurably sick man just before his death agony begins, or else they consider it as being purely artificial, a last desperate effort on the part of a priestcraft threatened by destruction and, of course, selfishly anxious, as all privileged classes throughout history have been, to perpetuate its own position of profit and power at the expense of the multitude of humble men and women.

No matter how the phenomenon may be interpreted, its reality is unquestionable. The Catholic Church today is positively active on a scale and with an intensity of disciplined energy which is of vital concern to all thoughtful men and women who wish to know something of the great forces which are contending for the leadership and control of the thoughts and actions of mankind. That the Catholic Church is, to say the least, certainly one of the major forces of the world—even if it only represents, as its enemies believe, a declining and baseless superstition—is generally admitted. Its own claim, of course, is that it is incomparably, uniquely, the supreme spiritual power in all the world.

It is not part of my present purpose to argue for the truth of this claim. Before such an audience as this, the argument would be needless, even were I competent to make it, which of course I

am not. Yet in order to return to the main point of my discussion: the relation of the Catholic layman to Church history at the present time, and to place before you the suggestions which the layman may venture to make to Church historians, it is vitally practical to remember that such a layman—in order to have the right to be considered a Catholic at all—must not only believe in this supreme claim of the Church, but must possess some sort of definition of that claim by which he must guide and direct not only his private and personal thinking and conduct (as far as his lamentable human weakness and failings will permit), but also his public, his social, his cooperative life among others, most of whom, in most countries today, and conspicuously so in our own country, utterly reject, even when they do not indignantly or scornfully oppose, what to the consistent Catholic is the major premise of his thought, as his thought must be the foundation of his actions.

When such a Catholic layman, then, uses the phrase "the Catholic Church," he has in his mind a conviction that if called upon to describe, he might do so in some such words as these:

> First of all, then, by the term *the Catholic Church* we mean that visible society, real, one, and actively at work in the world today, which was established by Jesus Christ nineteen hundred and thirty-four years ago. Furthermore, we mean that visible society, real, one, and clearly present before the world today, which is in communion with the Apostolic See of Rome, and which accepts not only the supremacy of that See, but also the infallibility of its occupant, the Pope, when, as shepherd and teacher of all the faithful, he defines a matter in faith or morals.

In continuance of this attempt at description of what a Catholic means when he says that he believes in his Church, we say that we mean, by the Catholic Church, that visible society, embracing all sorts and conditions of mankind, which claims and exercises Divine Authority and which says, as she has said since the beginning of her history, and which Catholics believe she will continue to say until the end of time:

> I alone know fully and teach adequately those truths which are essential to the life and final happiness of the human soul. I alone am that society wherein the human spirit reposes in its native place; for I alone stand in the center whence all is seen in proportion and whence the chaotic per-

spective of things falls into the right order. Mankind cannot feed itself—for that is death at last. I alone provide eternal sustenance from that which made mankind. The soil of my country alone can fully nourish mankind. Here, in me alone, is reality. For I alone am not man-made, but am of divine foundation and by my Divine Founder perpetually maintained.

Many of my audience will, no doubt, recognize in the above paragraph a paraphrase and also a direct quotation from a lay historian and interpreter of the Catholic Church, taken from the first chapter of Hilaire Belloc's book, *The Catholic Church and History*. His words seem to me to form the clearest and most forceful expression of what Catholics believe about the Church that is likely to be found outside of the strict theological definitions.

To this definition of the living reality of the Church there should be added a secondary yet essential consideration for the purposes of this address, as follows:

The Catholic Church, unique and supreme as it is—at least in theory—in its spiritual and moral and intellecual claims, is in one respect, however, in exactly the same position as any other society or organization of men formed to deal with other men, governing over or co-operating with other societies. Like these other societies, it must possess its material physical structure, its instruments and appliances; and it must also have a due order and practical system among all its parts in a way which will be adapted to its own purposes. In other words, it must have, like any purely secular organization—whether governmental, educational, or business—its directors or rulers, its committees and sub-committees, its affiliated organizations and groups. It must have its own offices, its buildings, its vehicles of communication; and it needs constantly the use, if not the actual possession, of all necessary means by which to gain, hold and employ the practical apparatus of its work.

With this conception of the Catholic Church in mind, as it is held by the sort of layman whom I am striving to represent in this address, we shall be in a better position to understand the special relation in which the history of the Church stands today, to such a layman, as he confronts the crisis of our age, and strives to play a part in solving it—according to the mind of that Church. And this remark brings us back to what I said in the beginning, namely, that to the Catholic layman of the type I have in mind—

who potentially, if not often (alas, I am afraid not often!) actually is the Catholic lay leader: the instrument of the sacred hierarchy of the Church in directing the masses of the faithful in Catholic Action; and who also is the link between the Church and the non-Catholic elements of society—to such a layman, I repeat, the history of the Church is second in importance only to its divinely inspired and divinely developed doctrine. For is not Catholic history fundamentally the record of the social results of Catholic doctrine? Is it not beyond all other aspects the story of the successes *and* the failures of the human servants of the God-Man Who established that Church, and Who perpetually maintains it in the world of time and space in their efforts during twenty centuries to spread His gospel among all sorts and conditions of mankind? That, certainly, it seems to me, is its main function. No less certainly does it seem to me to be its chief usefulness—using that word in its broadest and deepest connotation—to the Catholic layman of today. Now, when the layman looks at Catholic history as it actually is presented in the written records, he finds apparently that it may be roughly divided into three main classifications: namely; first, the interpretative, universal books of Church history; second, the organizational records of ecclesiastical history; and, third, the national and local records of its activities. I place to one side, and above all these classifications, of course, the inspired documents of Scripture: which are the foundations of Church history as well as the repositories of Christian doctrine —because I am dealing only with Church history which is the product of men who, even when they are both Saints and geniuses, for example, a St. Augustine—possess no claim to being divinely inspired or infallibly guided in their researches into or their recording of events, or in their interpretation of the meaning of those events. Far be it from me, before such an audience as this, to attempt even to indicate the vast extent and the religious and cultural value of the enormous mass of Church history we already possess in all three of these divisions—and which this Association, collectively through its encouragement of the study and compilation and writing of Church history in the United States, and by

the distinguished contributions of so many of its individual members, has done so much to promote.

My main intention is to voice what I sincerely believe to be the justified hope of the American Catholic laity that it may be promptly and practically aided in its great desire to serve both the Church and the Nation—yes, and to serve the best interests of all humanity—by the adoption of more effective means for the immediate utilization of the vast treasury of Church history than are available at present. Particularly does he require a broader and deeper knowledge presented in forms that are applicable to the discussion and possible resolution of the chief problems of our age, of the first kind of Church history—that which presents the exterior facts of that history in their interpretative relationship to the fundamental truths of Christianity, as these have been expressed in human action through the actual, concrete operation of the organized institutions of the Church. Permit me to make my point more definite by quoting from a letter which in my capacity as the editor of a lay review of public affairs, which attempts to discuss those affairs from the standpoint of Catholic principles, I received lately from the editor of a great daily newspaper. I quote:

> Questions have arisen in my mind regarding the situation of the Catholic Church in Mexico and Spain, and which is bound to confront it in the Central and South American countries.
>
> I have a deep congenital affection for the Church and the high respect which every sensible person must have for the wisdom of its leaders. But this I can not understand:
>
> Why has not the Church, as centralized in the Vatican, applied to other nations the lessons it has learned from its success in the United States?
>
> Why have not the American cardinals and bishops, in their frequent intercourse with the Vatican, advised the Church to keep out of national politics as it has done in the United States.
>
> The *Commonweal* has bitterly deplored, and with justice, the trend of education in Mexico. This business of practical sex education in the form of exhibitionism is not only shameful and cruel but nonsensical. But as the Church has had a great share in education in Mexico (and in Spain) how can it take pride in its results in the face of the illiteracy records of those countries?
>
> The Church has a noble record in education throughout the ages. I know that in this State the Church schools and convents are on a par

with the public schools, a fact demonstrated by the Church's high schools being on the accredited list of the State University. Why has not the Church, which assumed the educational function in the Latin countries, reduced illiteracy?

The Church is the oldest democratic institution in the world. It selects its bishops, cardinals and the pope by the merit system. Then why has the Church, in Spain, and reputedly in Austria, supported the monarchical government against republicanism? If the popes had been chosen through nepotism or hereditary right, as the Bourbons and Hapsburgs passed on their crowns, you know there would be no unified Church today. Then why has the Church in Spain apparently impeded the development of republicanism?

Why can not the able American cardinals impress the Vatican with the power that lies in a Church separate from politics?

I am quite willing to agree with what you say against the Mexican dictatorship, as cruel, oppressive, futile, and nonsensical. But I can not understand why the influence of American churchmen is not directed toward the application of the American system in Latin countries.

Undoubtedly the anti-religious attitude in Mexico will spread to South America unless the Church separates itself from politics and from state support.

The American Church is strong because it is independent of state support; its members have their own responsibility.

I realize the traditional and historical complications that unite the Church with the governments in these other countries; or did.

But the Church has adopted many reforms in the past. Why not make the American system universal?

No American churchman looks forward to a day when the Church in the United States may become a governmental annex.

I do not believe I am alone in having this view of the situation. I am writing because I cannot understand why there has not been a movement initiated by American Catholics to convince the Vatican that the future welfare of the Church lies in its independence of all governments.

Obviously, nothing short of a book, or several books, dealing with the points raised by my correspondent could adequately answer the questions he raises, and dispel the singular misconceptions of the polity and character of the Church which accompany these questions despite the evident good will and desire to be enlightened which prompted them. Their importance, in connection with this discussion, however, deserves fairly ample analysis. First of all, they are typical of the sort of questions which the Catholic

layman is constantly and increasingly meeting in his personal and cooperative relations with his non-Catholic fellow citizens. They are, indeed, not new questions; on the contrary, they are very familiar to us all; but they have increased in a most urgent form, and in a greatly increased volume today because they are vitally connected with what I believe to be the supreme problem which overshadows all other world problems—even that of war or peace, yes, even the more immediate pressure of our economic prostration, or the rising tide of crime and immorality—namely, the supreme issue presented by the conflict between the power of the State and the fundamental rights of organized religion. Chiefly, that issue affects the Catholic Church, but all organized forms of religion, together with all individual allegiance to a conscience, grounded on belief in and obedience to the spiritual laws of God, are increasingly threatened either with extinction by, or degrading subordination to, the tyrannical claims of the power of the State. For example, it seems to me, but what is more important, it also seems to many of our most thoughtful and influential leaders and framers of public opinion, that the fundamental and central point of the present Mexican situation goes deeper and has far wider implications than any former struggle that the Catholic Church, or any Christian body for that matter, has ever been engaged in with the organized power of any State. For the implication, even the explicit statement, of the fundamental principle upon which the new legislation in Mexico is based seems to be identical with the principle underlying the war on religion of the Bolshevist Party in Russia, and with similar developments appearing in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere. These are manifestations, it seems to me, of the idea, and of the enforcement of the idea, of the Totalitarian State; namely, the assumption on the part of the secular authority of unbounded and unlimited power over and control of all forms of the spiritual, moral and intellectual influence of institutions associated with the worship and service of Almighty God. As President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University has just said in his annual report to the trustees of that university:

> One of the chief tasks of free men, under the pressure of the changes which modern life has brought into the social order, is to require Government to mind its own proper business and to desist from attempts, under any pretense, to invade this reserved sphere of Liberty. The notion, now preached and taught with much vehemence in various parts of the world from Russia, Germany and Italy to Mexico, that there is somewhere a hypothetical, invisible and all powerful State which is antecedent to, superior to and in necessary control of, every individual life and all individual effort, is so far below the level of established human knowledge that it is not easy to describe it in language that would be deemed parliamentary.

As Dr. Paul Tillich, formerly Protestant professor of theology at the Universities of Marburg and Leipzig, and now visiting professor of philosophy and religion at Union Theological Seminary in New York, has said in a recent essay on *The Totalitarian State and the Claims of the Church*: "The church is being opposed by tendencies such as have not arisen since the conflict with the Roman Empire." As he shows, the Totalitarian State assumes to set itself up not only as superior to the Church, as a manifestation of the ultimate power in the universe—sometimes the apologists of the idea use the word God in attempting to define this ultimate power—but even as being itself actually and literally, "God on Earth," to quote Dr. Tillich. That such an idea must inevitably clash with the idea dominating all forms of religion is obvious. Indeed, that clash is already fully evident in many parts of the world, and, in my judgment, it has now made its appearance in Mexico, at the very doorway of the United States. Nor can its presence, and its influence, although as yet comparatively feeble and not definitely organized, in the United States, be doubted. As Dr. Tillich goes on to point out, it is in the sphere of education that the central arena of this struggle is found. Speaking of Russia, for example, Dr. Tillich says:

> The State measures (against the Church) have resulted in such a far-reaching debilitation of the church that in many ways it has been proclaimed dead. It is not dead, however. Its inner existence is threatened, but less by terroristic acts than by the atheistic education imparted to youth.

Again he says:

> The sphere in which, up to a certain degree, all other spheres [of the struggle between the totalitarian state idea and the forces of religion, he means] come together is that of the education of youth both in and out of school.

It is the absolute control of all forms of education, including religious instruction even in private schools, indeed even in the home, that is the gravest feature of the proposed new legislation in Mexico, as it is of the other great social upheavals in many other parts of the world.

Only by the strengthening of religion in Mexico, aided as far as is possible with due regard to the independence and sovereignty, in its proper sphere, of the Mexican Government, by the sympathetic aid of Catholics, Protestants and Jews in the United States, is there a possibility of checking the growth of atheistic education in that country and its further growth in the favorable atmosphere provided for it in the United States by the irreligious, if not anti-religious, system of our tax-supported schools. It may be said that it is no business of Americans whether or not Mexicans, Russians, Germans, Italians, or even their fellow-Americans, choose to be atheists or believers in God. Religion, however, to all religious people, whether they be Protestant, Catholic or Jew, necessarily transcends all nationalistic or racial considerations. Believers in God belong first of all to the family of the children of God, and only in a secondary and derivitive sense do they belong to the race or nation of which they are members through nature or by legal means. And when such believers in God—including many indeed whose faith has been very feeble, and devoid of any assistance from any form of Church allegiance, but who are today questioning the wisdom of their own detachment from religion—observe the appalling swiftness and strength of the growth of the new Caesarism; even when they are not Catholics, nor, humanly speaking, likely ever to acknowledge the claim of the Catholic Church to be God's duly appointed and unchangeable manifestation of His Will in respect to humanity's relation to religion, they are keenly anxious to know and to make use of the

power of that Church to stem, if possible, the further advance of the conquering despotism of organized State atheism.

They are willing, today, as they were not yesterday, to enquire into the truth and the application of the truth contained in the words of President Masaryk, which I quoted in beginning my remarks, that, "The meaning of history is not Caesar but Jesus: history tends not toward Caesar but toward Jesus." Yes, they are willing to enquire today; but by tomorrow it may be too late for those who now should answer their enquiries with the true answers entrusted by Jesus to His Church, and by His Church transmitted to the members of that Church, so that the latter may supply those answers *in a way and on a scale commensurate with the urgency of the contemporary crisis in thought.* For, by tomorrow it may well be that Caesar may have triumphed—not, of course, over Jesus Christ, or His Church, for that simply cannot be, as Christ Himself has assured us—but over the present generation of the children of the Church. They, and with them their separated brethren in Christ, and, in fact, all men who still believe in God, may lose the liberty of religious life and fall into bondage—in a new Babylonian captivity—to the secular tyranny of the new Caesarism. Even a few years ago, the bare possibility of such a relapse into a new Dark Age of human history, while put forward seriously and gravely by philosophical historians—among them Christians like Maritain and Berdyaev, as well as pessimistic pagans like Spengler—made little or no impression upon the mind of the ordinary, educated, thoughtful man or woman. At worst, such predictions appeared to be mere fantasies; at best, as hypothetical conclusions perhaps logically deducible from premises based upon certain ominous trends of contemporary history, but in reality mere literary speculations, devoid of vital relationship to the actualities of life.

Now, however, it is precisely ordinary man, and not merely the mystic, or the philosopher, or the interpreter of history, who has been rudely awakened to the nature of the universal crisis in thought which underlies and is mainly responsible for the crisis in economics and in all other departments of human society. It is the

ordinary, average man who is forced to face the agony of choosing, in his own soul, and his own mind, between the claims of Christ and the claims of Caesar. And it is precisely upon the average men and women of our society, and not upon the few supreme leaders of humanity, or upon the great masses of the people, that today there rests not only the responsibility of determining what answer our nation is to give to the two opposing claims, but also the great opportunity of determining that we shall say "No!" to Caesar, and "Yes!" to Jesus Christ. For the average body of educated, ordinary men and women are the intermediate and essential links in the natural hierarchy of mankind between the great and potent leaders of humanity, and the masses of the race. If they follow the leaders who themselves derive their right to lead from the Light of the World: the God-Man, Jesus Christ, the masses will follow them toward the living of a life that will inevitably, therefore, be as humanly desirable as is possible in this world, where absolute perfection is not achievable, but where all the humanly legitimate conditions even of secular society have been assured to those who seeking first of all the Kingdom of Heaven may gain all other lesser but most desirable good things in their due order and proportion. But if they follow those false leaders—the egotistical geniuses of disorder: the wizards who weave the evil enchantments of false philosophies which have rejected the first premise of truly human thought: which is to know and to serve the will of God—the masses will follow them to disastrous ends. If such leaders become drugged by the veritable opium of the people— which is not religion, as Marx has proclaimed, but rather that secular Utopianism which visions this world alone as at once the origin and the end of man, and which worships Man as his own god, and which dreams of a mechanistic mass-life of human slavery conceived of as the earthly paradise—then, I say, even our nation, to which liberty is so dear, must succumb to some form of the modern Caesarism. If I may be pardoned a play upon words, I might say that the true form of the word *Utopia* should be *Ut-opium*. This is the poison which, it seems to me, is circulating in the very blood of mankind today,

and which makes its crisis of thought a real delirium: a sort of madness—the only possible cure for which is that Christian truth which alone can guide sane reason, and the constructive thought which flows from truth—illuminated human reason. Yes, Christian reason can cure this madness, if applied in time, and with adequate power to the reformation of those social wrongs and crimes the frightful pressure of which upon the masses of mankind has been so heavy, and so prolonged, as to reduce them to that spiritual desperation which makes them easy victims to the vain promises and illusive panaceas with which the false prophets and evil leaders of the god-denying philosophies, which have dominated the world since Christian civilization was shattered four centuries ago, have bewitched them.

Such is our general situation, as it seems to me; this is the nature of the crisis of thought which involves all humanity. We are at a turning point in the history of man, called upon to choose between the eternal laws of God, revealed to mankind through Jesus Christ, and the claims of the self-deified material power of the Totalitarian State: a mass rebellion of men against God led by tyrants and turning mankind backward to that universal state of slavery which was the fundamental basis of pagan civilization in the pre-Christian ages.

Let me now, in conclusion, try to fulfill my promise to lay before you a few practical applications of these general remarks. First of all, it of course may well be that I have myself been affected by the element of mental and emotional hysteria which is so evidently a part of the intellectual and moral atmosphere of our times. Very possibly, I take and have expressed an exaggerated view of our situation. Perhaps there is not such a state of acute social crisis as I have described—and which far more significant and competent observers than I concur in recognizing. It is quite conceivable that what is happening is no more than a world-wide disturbance of social institutions, and of their underlying philosophies, and not the transforming crisis in those institutions and philosophies which I believe we are witnessing. In a year or two, or a generation at most, we may welcome the return of social

stability, and things may go on very much as they did prior to the World War and the series of revolutions and economic catastrophes which followed that world deluge of blood and tears. Yes, it may be so; yet, even in that case, would thoughtful Catholics have cause for unmixed and unhesitant rejoicing? Could they regard the return of that kind of "normality" as a truly Christian condition of things? Would it—could it—be more than a temporary lull in the tempest now raging, a tempest which would be bound by the very nature of its elements to break forth again—if, during such a lull, the power of Christian thought and Christian institutions continue to occupy the negative and subordinate position into which it fell four centuries ago, thus permitting that dominance of anti-religious secular thought which caused our present troubles and miseries to persist and to develop into greater and ever greater completeness?

So, therefore, whether or not the world is actually in the grip of an immediate crisis, whether or not it is to witness a subsidence of the prevailing storm, the task of Catholics remains the same. Unless almost unthinkable disobedience to the pleas and the commands of Christ's Vicar on earth, our Holy Father the Pope, is to be committed by our Catholic leaders, and their faithful people, there is only one course open to them—namely, a world-wide intensification of Catholic Action, and of those subordinate and auxiliary Catholic movements which extend the influence of God's Church throughout all circles of human society.

Among such movements, I repeat, few could be more important than one for the prompt and efficient diffusion of the lessons of Church history, in such a manner that the leaders of our laity of whom I have spoken above may be enabled to become the true apostles of the Christian way of life by impregnating the general circles of our common national life with the Catholic experience of the past, and the vital principles of Catholic truth, now as ever applicable to the best solutions of our present and future problems.

How may this great need, this wonderful opportunity, be met and employed? Surely, in some degree at least, through an organized plan—a cooperative alliance between such an authoritative

group of experts in history as this Association, and groups of laymen of the types I have in mind.

Now, I think I recognize as clearly as most sensible men would recognize, that organized planning is at best a poor substitute for the personal initiative and the creative genius of individuals. No mere planned campaign for the extension of the influence of Catholic history can automatically call forth the work of a St. Augustine, for example, or of a Baronius, or a Bossuet, or a Lingard, or a Pastor, or a John Gilmary Shea. No; but the work of distributing the fruits of their work can be organized, can be expedited, can be planned, can be extended, can be made available in definite ways to definite contemporary situations. Only God may create the true, vital, original historian's vocation. But men may, men have, and men should organize ways and means for supporting the work of the primary class of historians. They may also see to it that historical writers not of the unique, original class of genius, but of the secondary and lesser grades, yet of high social usefulness, who condense, adapt, and apply the source-materials provided by the first class, and who can be entrusted with many subordinate minor researches and studies and records, are deliberately directed toward subjects of contemporary interest and value and aided to deal with them.

For example: where can we find today, in the English language, a trustworthy history, or any books in English based truthfully upon the authentic records of the history of the Catholic Church in Mexico? And that is a burning question. You may find half-a-score of books in English which are permeated with or frankly support the views of the Church exploited by the anti-Catholic leaders of the revolution; but where are the Catholic books, in English, to meet this flood of dangerous half-truths, or misinterpretations, or deliberate falsification? Where, again, may we turn for books in English, expressed, so to speak, in the contemporary idiom, giving American readers a Catholic yet a realistic account of the origin and the present condition of the centuries-old struggle between the Church and godless Masonry and atheistic revolutionary forces in Spain? Where, once more, are those books—

which whether history in a strict sense of the term or not cannot anyhow be written intelligently without being based upon Church history, authentic, scientific Church history—the sort of books that would give American readers an enlightening account of the relations between the Catholic Church and the State in such countries as Germany, Russia, Italy, France, and Poland? Where, it may be added, are our historical pamphlets on these—and on a score of other important situations that might be mentioned? I do not mean mere propaganda pamphlets, in the invidious sense of that misunderstood word: propaganda; I mean pamphlets giving authentic outlines or special aspects of these burning questions, equipped with references and bibliographies for the benefit of those who would desire to study such subjects more thoroughly, but who meanwhile would be wonderfully aided to grasp at least the essential elements of such problems and controversies.

Is it presumptuous in me, gentleman, to make the suggestion that in this year when this Association, under the direct inspiration and expert guidance of its secretary, Dr. Peter Guilday, has accomplished so notable and so valuable a task as its cooperative study and expression of the fruits of Maryland's Catholic foundation—which itself belongs so vitally and so happily to the history of the relations between Church and State in our own country—is it, I say, presumptuous in me to suggest that the Association might properly undertake the even greater task of organizing a joint committee of its own members, and of members to be appointed by such lay groups as may seem best adapted for such an undertaking, for the purpose of planning and directing a movement to apply the lessons of Church history along some such lines as those I have so tentatively and imperfectly indicated?

I leave the question with you. Even if it have no other merit, perhaps at least it may serve to cause a discussion, or to start private and personal thinking, which will lead to far better things. In conclusion, I shall leave with you a thought, drawn from a Christian though not a Catholic writer, which contains, it seems to me, a truth of vital import to such a gathering as this. It is taken from an essay by Mr. Maurice B. Reckitt, contained in a

volume entitled *Christianity and the Crisis.* Mr. Reckitt, after analysing the nature of the world crisis, says:

> In a conflict of falsehoods, staged in a world of deadlock and drained vitality, no authentic recovery can come, save from the divine society which must interpret what it worships—the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Such is the call to the Church of this generation. But the call carriers no guarantee of success with it, even if the the response be faithful. It is not for us to imprison God's purposes within human horizons, or to demand that religion shall recover in a lifetime what it has been so largely content to surrender for centuries. We may be entering upon a new Dark Ages of social confusion, world upheaval, and racial war. But the lesson of the Dark Ages is that the faithfulness of a few may restore what the recklessness of millions has seemed to obliterate for ever; and a study of those centuries is a revelation of the inadequacy of evolutionary hypotheses and materialist philosophies of history. The man born in 880 might have died in despair of every Christian value and every human hope. But fifty years after his death the assured foundations of mediaeval Christendom were laid. The man born in 1880 may die in a similar dismay. Yet from his fidelity may spring the Christendom of the new world, which, without it, may be halted for generations.

Beyond all men save only the Saints themselves, and the authoritative custodians of the sacred doctrine of Christ, it is Catholic historians, it seems to me, who may best apply Mr. Reckitt's words to their own task, and their own responsibility. All that a mere layman can add is the expression of his strong belief that there are thousands of the Catholic laity most willing to undertake their own lesser, yet essential, part in that inspiring task, that awful yet consolatory responsibility, in attempting, at least, to convince our distressed and troubled and anxious and fearful fellowmen that it is indeed true what I quoted in beginning these remarks: "The meaning of history is not Caesar but Jesus: history tends not toward Caesar but toward Jesus."

MICHAEL WILLIAMS.

THE FIRST BEATIFIED MARTYR OF SPANISH AMERICA

Blessed Roque Gonzalez
(1576–1628)

Let me protest at the outset of this paper that I have no wish to glorify one particular martyr at the expense of the many not less heroic champions of the Faith who gained their crown still earlier. Beyond doubt there were not a few missionaries to the New World who perished by violence long before Blessed Roque Gonzalez was butchered by the savages of Uruguay.[1] It must be largely a matter of accident that adequate records are preserved in the case of some, while the evidence is not so complete for others who were their predecessors in point of time. Most of these victims of pagan barbarity were unquestionably true martyrs and it is likely enough that in years to come many of them will be venerated on our altars. A very few examples will suffice to give an idea of the number of these tragedies. As early as 1516 Father Fernando Salcedo, O. F. M., with two companions was killed by the cannibal Caribs in the Antilles. From 1549 to 1597 the Dominicans, Jesuits, and Franciscans who successively made attempts to evangelise Florida were massacred almost to a man by the natives they sought to convert. Similarly we read that in 1541 the Dominican Bishop Vincent Valverde, one of the first missionaries to Peru, was murdered by the Indians at Guayaquil; while in 1544 the Franciscan Juan de Padilla, the protomartyr of the United States of America, suffered martyrdom probably in Texas. Twenty-one Franciscans at a later date laid down their lives in New Mexico on August 10, 1680; and there were many more. But what marks the case of Blessed Roque Gonzalez as exceptional is the fact that he was not a missionary sent

[1] It seems simplest to retain the Spanish form of his name. Saint Roch is a familiar saint in France, but neither the Italian equivalent "Rocco" nor the German "Rochus" has won acceptance in English speech.

from Europe but a native born American.[2] The town of Asunción, still the capital of Paraguay, was his birthplace. His father, Bartolome Gonzalez de Villaverde, was a leading man among the Spaniards who were settled there. Several witnesses in the process of beatification who had known him well, describe him and his wife, Maria de Santa Cruz, as *personas nobles y principales.* In 1614 and later, Father Roque's brother Francisco was Governor (*Teniente General y Gobernador*) of Asunción and another brother seems to have been invested with the same dignity at a later date.

What with official documents, letters written by or concerning the martyr, and especially the depositions of witnesses in the process of beatification, quite a surprising amount of contemporary information is available concerning Father Gonzalez. All these materials have been printed in the original Spanish, together with an Italian translation, by the new "Historical Section" of the Congregation of Sacred Rites. The service rendered to historical students, as well as to hagiographers, by scholarly work of this sort can hardly be overestimated; and I trust that it may not seem impertinent to express to Dom Quentin and to the others associated with him in this new departure the gratitude which such an innovation must earn from all who are seriously interested in research. To those familiar with the type of *Summarium de Virtutibus* commonly issued during the last three centuries by the Congregation of Rites, too often wretchedly printed, disfigured by typographical errors, confused in arrangement and presenting only a dubiously reliable Italian version of the original depositions, the handsome volume *Positio super Introductione Causae* presented in 1932 to the Consultors of the Congregation of Rites in connection with the Paraguayan martyrs, comes as a revelation. If my present article hardly travels outside the materials contained in that volume and its supplement (1933), it is not too much to say that this official statement of the Cause has gathered

[2] Still earlier than this San Felipe de las Casas, better known as St. Philip of Jesus, a Franciscan, was born and bred in Mexico, but he did not die on American soil. After becoming a religious he was sent to Japan and was crucified with other martyrs at Nagasaki in 1597.

up all the information available and has left little or nothing more to be gleaned.[3]

Father Roque, who, subject to the reserves mentioned above, figures as the Protomartyr of Latin America, was born at Asunción in 1576. Such incidents as are recorded concerning his early life rest upon evidence which is trustworthy to a degree quite unusual in similar biographies. The Father, having been martyred on 15th November, 1628, the first *processus informativus seu ordinarius* was opened less than five months later at Buenos Aires, and the examination of other and even more important witnesses took place at Corrientes in the following year.[4] Now we have to remember that even in the case of such an outstanding figure as the great St. Teresa of Avila thirteen years elapsed after her death before any depositions were taken officially concerning her virtues or activities. Since she was born in 1515 and died in 1582, not many people in 1595 could have been able to give evidence of value as to her early career. Still more remarkable was the delay in the process of St. Ignatius Loyola. His death took place in 1556, but no examination of witnesses associated with him in his life-time occurred before 1595. Official enquiries were then opened in Spain, France, Italy, Belgium and elsewhere, but very little of the evidence resulting could have been more than hearsay.

Thus the contrast presented by the case of the Paraguayan martyr is striking. Six or seven of the witnesses whose depositions survive were natives of Asunción who knew him as a boy and were acquainted with his parents and family. One had been a class-mate at school, another had lived close by on the opposite side of the street. All bore testimony in the most earnest terms to the extraordinary example of virtue which he had set as a lad.

[3] The credit of bringing together the documents upon which this record is founded belongs very largely to Father J. M. Blanco, S. J., who published at Buenos Aires in 1929 his *Historia documentada de la Vida y gloriosa Muerte de los Padres Roque Gonzalez, Alonso Rodriguez, y Juan del Castillo, S. J.*

[4] There must also have been an examination of witnesses at Asunción in April, 1629, but with the exception of a fragment of the deposition of Father de Boroa, S. J., printed in the Supplement (*Hist.*, 23, 44-55), the record seems to have perished.

He took no part in boyish pranks or diversions. No one ventured to swear or to indulge in loose talk in his presence. If they were of his own age, he remonstrated effectively; if they were his elders whom he could not control, he asked them to desist; and when they paid no heed, he simply turned and left their company. Often they discovered him on his knees saying his prayers in any quiet spot where he was hidden from observation. In such a case some of his schoolfellows used to throw sods at him, *le tiraban con terrones,* but he bore it all patiently. That he could have been a milksop is inconceivable. The whole history of his after life is an astonishing record of determination, courage and endurance. A curious incident is reported of him when he was about 14 or 15. He came to the conclusion that like the fathers of the desert he ought to turn his back upon the comforts of home and to seek out some wild place among the mountains, there to do penance and to pray. It would seem that he did not carry this into effect without first taking advice,[5] but as he persuaded three or four other youths to join him in the adventure, it is clear that even at that age his strength of character had made him a leader. Two at least of these companions were among the witnesses who gave evidence after his death, and they tell us that they had got more than thirty miles from the town before their relatives who had started in pursuit came up with them and by arguments or threats induced the fugitives to return. Garcia de Céspedes, who was one of those who had taken part in the adventure, also remarks that even if Father Roque had not been martyred, he would always, from what he knew of the holiness of his life, have honoured him for a saint.

Though all his thoughts were given to God, Roque, it appears, believed himself unworthy of the priesthood, and it was only at the urgent instance of the prominent ecclesiastics connected with his family that he consented to receive ordination on March 25, 1599. One of the witnesses in the process makes reference to

[5] *Positio super Introductione Causae, etc.*, 313. He consulted *una persona religiosa*, says the witness Gabriel de Isauralde, the martyr's intimate friend. This might have been either a priest or a nun.

what would now be accounted a very strange custom. When Roque said his first Mass, his confessors (!) urged that he ought to go to the altar carrying a palm branch in his hand as a symbol of the virginal life he had led.[6] We can hardly be surprised that his modesty took fright at such a suggestion. From the same witness we learn that as soon as he had received the priesthood, Father Gonzalez devoted himself to catechising the natives in out-of-the-way districts. Ten years later the Bishop of Asunción appointed him his Vicar General, but the good young priest found a way of avoiding this dignity by entering the Society of Jesus; and from that time, even before his novitiate was ended, the whole of the rest of his life was given to the work of the Reductions.

To tell in detail the story of his labours, of the hardships, the perils, the constantly renewed warfare with famine and plague, would be impossible here. It is not too much to say that the very difficult beginnings of the famous Paraguay Reductions owed more to Father Roque Gonzalez than to any other individual priest. His success in winning the confidence of even the most intractable among the Indian tribes was marvellous, but even more wonderful was the patient perseverance with which he suffered disappointments and reverses. When he was sent, after only a few months of novitiate, to attempt to conciliate the Guaycurues, we learn that the old Spanish settlers at Asunción, to whom the near neighbourhood of this formidable race was a constant menace, openly derided the foolhardiness of such a mission. But in spite of unforseen difficulties created by pestilence and inundations, he effected a great deal. A leading cacique was converted, and his son came to Asunción in October 1611 to be baptized; but though more friendly relations were opened up, it seems to have been impossible to maintain any permanent settlement in the regions which the Guaycurues occupied to the north and west of

[6] See *Positio etc.*, 219: "*sus confesores le dijeron llevase palma de virgen para el buen ejemplo.*" The witness who recalled this was a priest, named, strangely enough, Diego Gordon. There are many Gordons now in Spain, but one hardly expected to find that their connection with the country went so far back as the sixteenth century.

Asunción.[7] Father Roque was accordingly directed to take control of the Reduction of San Ignacio, founded, the earliest of all, in 1609, upon an effluent of the river Paraguay. This charge of San Ignacio lasted for nearly three years, until 1615, and after that the remaining thirteen years of the martyr's life were given to traversing the country and founding new reductions, seemingly some seven in all, to the east of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. He is said to have been the first Spaniard to penetrate into this latter region. His contemporaries who knew the temper of the natives at this period and the difficulty of such journeys, undertaken on foot and almost without resources, speak in no measured terms of the heroism which such an apostolate implied. We read how at San Ignacio in 1613 he baptized 80 children and 122 adults after adequate preparation, and how the patronal feast of the holy founder of the Society of Jesus was celebrated there in the same year with extraordinary solemnity, including religious dances, the music of many instruments, the discharge of maroons, illuminations, etc., all the principal caciques of the surrounding country coming in to make presents in honour of the Saint.[8] The following year, 1614, Father Roque was successful in bringing together 600 families to live near the lake Ibera, but in 1615 he

[7] An extraordinary reputation for ferocity attached to this people. A priest well known to me in my boyhood, who, as chaplain to the Bishop of Rio Grande do Sul, travelled through Uruguay in 1863-65, describes the Guaycurues, even at this last date as "a powerful, cruel and never yet subdued race." See *The Month*, November, 1868, 474. The same priest who used to let me as a child have a suck at the cup of *mate* (Paraguayan tea) which he imbibed through a silver tube several times every morning, was fond of telling of an Indian he had met there, 120 years old, who still recited the Office of Our Lady in Latin from a book given him by one of the Fathers before the Reductions were broken up in 1768.

[8] The account of this celebration is given in a letter from Father Gonzalez himself to his Provincial, and it occupies the whole of a printed page (*Positio etc.*, 54-55). A curious feature of the case is that the Saint, though beatified in 1609, was not at this date canonized. But Father Gonzalez refers to him throughout as Santo and speaks of "*la fiesta de Nuestro Santo Padre y Patrón San Ignacio, cuya advocación tiene esta iglesia, bajo cuyo patrocinio está este pueblo, y así tiene toda esta gente mucha devocion, y se glorían y blasonan, llamandose los del pueblo de San Ignacio.*" The canonization took place in 1622.

handed over the Reduction of St. Ana to two Franciscans, who charitably came to his aid later on at a critical time when he himself was at starvation point. We read again how in 1616 his personal intervention prevented a military demonstration of the Spaniards from Buenos Aires which would infallibly have revived the suspicions of the natives and have destroyed all the confidence they had come to repose in the Fathers. No sooner, however, was this danger averted than a terrible outbreak of smallpox took place which devastated the newly founded reductions and was followed by such a famine that the Fathers and their converts had nothing to eat but decayed manioc tubers. Then again in 1617 this brave missionary had to use all the influence he could command—it was fortunate that his family were people of importance in official circles—to frustrate another scheme of sending soldiers among the Indians, a scheme really inspired by the greed of profiteers, who wanted slaves for their haciendas. But in spite of these embarrassments new reductions were founded by him at Yaguapoa and Concepción, though in 1619 further epidemics broke out again bringing famine in their train.

It was only in 1626 that there seemed to be indications of the dawn of an era of greater prosperity. Father Roque's influence with the Indians was by this time very great. Meeting by chance, so Father Mastrilli reports, a great force of 400 fighting men, who were advancing to attack another tribe, the missionary fearlessly addressed them and bade them desist. Though they had never seen the face of a Spaniard before, they knew him by repute, and he so prevailed upon them that they gave up their purpose and returned to their homes. He was then on his way to Buenos Aires, and there in the capital he obtained from the Governor of Rio de la Plata, Francisco de Céspedes, an authorisation to found Reductions east of the Uruguay in districts as yet wholly unexplored. Several more settlements were in consequence begun, but unfortunately the governor had insisted that three officials with the title of regidors should go back with Father Roque to represent the civil authority of the Spanish Crown. This was one of those fatal blunders which provincial administrators, intent upon ad-

vancing their own credit at home as empire builders, were continually making. One of these regidors, persuaded that the natives were slaves whom he could kick and cuff at his pleasure, took such high-handed measures that the greater number of the catechumens gathered in the Reduction of St. Francis Xavier broke away and went back to the wilds. Father Mastrilli, the Provincial, seems to have acted very tactfully and eventually secured the recall of the regidors, but a state of suspicion and distrust was again awakened which undid much of the good work accomplished and hampered the Fathers incredibly in their difficult task.

Meanwhile Father Gonzalez, in deference to the governor's express desire, had set out to explore the unvisited regions of Uruguay and Rio Grande, partly to discover a suitable location for fresh Reductions, partly to learn what he could about the numbers and disposition of the Indians. He seems to have found out that a certain witch-doctor (*hechicero*) named Nezú was the arch-instigator of the fierce opposition to Christian teaching which was manifested by some of the natives. He accordingly took the course of founding more Reductions in that part of the country in order to counteract Nezú's sinister influence. The witnesses in the beatification process have left us a very clear account of the tragedy which was brought about by Nezú's machinations. It appears that this witch-doctor, as happens so often in such cases, claimed supernatural powers; indeed he is said to have been worshipped by the ignorant savages as a god. He gave out that if they continued to lend an ear to the missionaries, he by his magic would turn the world upside down, that he would bring upon them inundations and famine and wild beasts, so that the whole race would be exterminated. He managed to kidnap some of the children who had been baptised and pretended to de-christianize them, washing their heads, breasts and backs, where they had been anointed, with a fluid which he said emanated miraculously from his own body, and scraping their tongues upon which salt had been laid in administering the sacrament. By most of the pagan Indians he was regarded with superstitious terror, and he had no difficulty in instigating a certain cacique named Cartupé to undertake the murder of Father Gon-

zalez and his companion Father Rodriguez who were then at the newly founded Reduction of Todos Santos at Caaró.[9] Accordingly with a band of his tribesmen, Carupé descended upon the unsuspecting missionaries and found Father Gonzalez fitting a cord to the bell which had just been suspended above their little Church. At a word from his leader, a slave named Maragua stole up to the priest from behind and smashed in his skull with repeated blows from a weapon which the Indians called an *itaiza*, a bludgeon with a stone head and wooden handle. Father Rodriguez, hearing the disturbance, came out from his hut and was likewise struck down. He was only partially disabled and appealed to his assailants saying: "My children, what are you about?" But he was seized, dragged some little distance and at once despatched. The church was then set on fire and the bodies of both missionaries thrown into the flames.

No eye-witness of the scene seems actually to have given evidence in the process of beatification.[10] Our information comes mainly from the expeditionary force which, dispatched from the Spanish settlement of Corrientes, arrived a month later to exact retribution for the outrage. But the perpetrators themselves, having been defeated in a pitched battle in which many were made prisoners, seem to have spoken freely. In the deposition of the Spanish Commander, Capitán Manuel Cabral, in those of several of his subordinates and in that of the principal Christian cacique, Santiago Guarecupi, apparently the only native interrogated, we have an account of two surprising occurrences which they all held to be a miraculous testimony to the holiness of the martyrs. We are told that from the partially consumed body of Father Gonzalez a voice was heard to speak in some such terms as these: "You

[9] Father A. Jaeger, S. J., in an interesting article in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, Vol. II (1933), 223-230, has determined the exact site of Caaró, providing also a map of the surrounding country with the rivers. Caaró, as he calculates, was in latitude south 28° 26′ 01″ and in longitude, west of Greenwich, 51° 41′ 56″. The location was identified by remains found on the spot.

[10] We cannot speak quite positively, for we have only a fragment preserved of the report describing the enquiry which was undoubtedly held in April, 1629 at Asunción itself.

have killed my body but not my soul. There will come upon you many tribulations for what you have done, since my sons will come to avenge me." The leader of these assassins directed that Father Roque's body should be cut open to find out what was speaking. They were persuaded that it was his heart which spoke. So they cut his body open, extracted that organ and piercing it with an arrow threw it again into the fire. The heart was scorched but not consumed, and being found by the Spaniards a month later thus transfixed, it was sent in 1634 to the General of the Jesuits in Rome. There it was preserved in a silver reliquary made in the shape of a heart; but in 1928, as most of the relics of the martyr had been destroyed or lost sight of when the Society was driven from Paraguay, the heart was returned to Buenos Aires and is now reverently preserved there in the Jesuit College of San Salvador.

The allegation that prophetic words were heard to proceed from the martyr's dead body rests only on the testimony of pagan Indians, recorded at second hand; but a marvel still more bizarre was sworn to by no less than eight witnesses in the beatification process who declared that they had seen it with their own eyes. It is stated that the hands of all those who had directly participated in the murder of Father Gonzalez "became swollen and covered with blisters as if they had got burnt in contact with fire." Perhaps the most curious feature was that when these Indians were first taken prisoners there was no sign of this. It only showed itself next day and nothing similar was observed in the other captives who had no part in the martyr's death. In the case of Maragua who had first struck him down, it was observed by more than one witness that this savage's hands became actually gangrenous and fetid.[11] We are told that the culprits admitted their guilt and recognized that Father Gonzalez's prophecy had found its fulfilment. How many suffered death is not stated, but we learn that all, save one, professed willingness to accept the Christian

[11] "*Y el indio Maragua, principal matador de los santos, no solo se le hincharon y ampollaron sino que se le casi pudrieron, y las tenía hediendo.*" *Positio etc.*, 364; evidence of Cristóbal Gallego.

faith and were consequently instructed summarily and baptized before justice was done. They were hanged and also, it seems, shot with arrows. No doubt the ten Spaniards, who with well-nigh a thousand Christian Indians set out from Corrientes to bring the murderers to justice, would have left the actual execution of the sentence to their native allies.

The martyrdom of Fathers Roque Gonzalez and Alonso Rodriguez took place on November 15, 1628. Two days afterwards, again seemingly at the instigation of Nezú or his son-in-law, a still more treacherous attack was made upon Father Juan del Castillo who was in charge of the newly established Reduction at Iyui, called the Assumption. His martyrdom, of which several natives, who gave evidence were eye-witnesses, was even more harrowing than that of his two fellow religious; but I am not attempting to offer any detailed account of Fathers Rodriguez and del Castillo, because they were Spaniards by birth and had only lived some twelve years or so in America, most of which time had been spent at Buenos Aires as students preparing for the missions. Father Gonzalez has a claim to be considered an American martyr in a somewhat stricter sense.

The depositions of the witnesses in the process of the last named missionary form interesting reading. They leave the impression that contact with Father Gonzalez had inspired a feeling which was much deeper than the conventional admiration commonly entertained for a brave and saintly life. The Lieutenant Governor of Corrientes who commanded the punitive expedition, tells us, for example, that, knowing as he did the country and the native population,

> he was able to appreciate how much the life which Father Roque led must have cost him—the hunger, the cold, the exhaustion from his journeys on foot, the swimming across rivers, the wading through morasses, not to speak of the plague of insects and the discomforts which no man but a true apostle, who was holy like the said Father, could have sustained with such endurance.

And Cabral goes on to say that the Martyr was beloved not only by the Indians of Uruguay, but by those of the whole Paraná

country as well.[12] So again the one native witness whose evidence is preserved to us, the cacique Guarecupi, echoes this note when he declares that "all the Christians amongst his countrymen loved the Father and sorrowed for his death, because he was the father of all (*por ser padre de todos*) and it was so that he was styled by all the Indians of the Paraná."[13]

Finally, let me confess that my interest in Father Gonzalez was first awakened more than a dozen years ago in a rather curious way. There came into my hands at that time a brochure printed at the *Democratic Expositor* office, Springfield, Ohio, in 1857, in which a certain Dr. T. L. Nichols gave an account of the conversion of himself and his wife to the Catholic Church.[14] They were Spiritualists but their thoughts were turned towards Catholicism by communications which purported to emanate from a Jesuit in the other world. Later a visual perception came to Mrs. Nichols, who had mediumistic powers, and, as her husband tells us:

> A venerable shade appeared in circle to Mrs. Nichols wearing a dress resembling that worn by the Order, which she had not then seen, and having also a rope girdle about his waist, the knotted ends of which were stained with blood. He rebuked her earnestly for not having examined Jesuitism, and exclaimed "*Justice, Justice to the Society of Jesus.*" He said his name was Gonzalez, and we heard afterwards that he was one of the early Jesuit Fathers, a missionary and a martyr. So earnest was the demand of this spirit that we should examine the doctrine and records of the Society, that Mrs. Nichols wrote to the Archbishop of Cincinnati stating the circumstances and asking what books we should procure, and was by him referred to the Rector of St. Xavier's College.

Neither Dr. nor Mrs. Nichols at that date knew anything whatever about the Catholic Church or the Jesuits, and it may be doubted whether even among Catholics one person in ten thousand

[12] *Positio etc.*, 310.

[13] *Ibid.*, 376. We learn that this witness was questioned in his own language, but was, naturally, unable to sign his name.

[14] I have spoken somewhat more fully of this conversion in my book *The Church and Spiritualism* (Milwaukee, 1933), 52-57. The original pamphlet of 1857 is still in my possession. The quotation here made from it is absolutely exact.

could then have heard of Father Gonzalez as a martyr. I may own when I first read the passage that it was only by hunting up books of reference that I was able to identify the Father meant. As to the good faith of Dr. Nichols and his wife I am fully assured. They settled in England a few years later, bringing with them letters of introduction to Cardinal Wiseman, who received them very kindly. Dr. Manning, afterwards Cardinal, came to visit them at Malvern saying Mass in their house, and Mrs. Nichols, who must have been in many ways a remarkable woman, numbered among her friends such people as Horace Greeley, Emerson and Bronson Alcott, with Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, William and Mary Howitt and a number of others at that time distinguished in English literary circles.

I have no explanation to offer of the strange spiritualistic vision which, after further communications of the same kind, brought Mrs. Nichols and her husband into the fold of the Catholic Church. It must in any case, I think, be accounted a remarkable coincidence that the name Gonzalez should have come in 1857 to one absolutely ignorant of everything Catholic. Let it only be said in reference to Mrs. Nichols' description of the shade which appeared to her, that although the Jesuits, of course, have never used a rope girdle as part of their religious habit, it is conceivable that a missionary in such wild surroundings as those of the Paraná river might easily have been reduced to avail himself of any sort of cincture which most readily came to hand.

The beatification of Blessed Roque Gonzalez and his two fellow martyrs, delayed for centuries by the loss of the documents originally transmitted to Rome, was promulgated on January 25, 1934, and the Apostolic Letter of the Holy Father will be found in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. XXVI (March 10, 1934), 101-104.

HERBERT THURSTON.

GIAMBATTISTA VICO, PHILOSOPHER-HISTORIAN*

Giambattista Vico is not well known to American scholars. Yet he merits the attention of every student of philosophy and of history, for his contributions in both fields are of a high order, while his simple life offers us the refreshing picture of a man who served the cause of thought in a sweet Christian manner. He is gradually rising to eminence owing to the unstinted admiration accorded him by prominent thinkers overseas, such as Croce[1] and Gentile.[2] These many European admirers hail him as the father of the philosophy of history; it is, therefore, quite expedient that we learn something about him, particularly since he belongs to us by the closest ties of a life-long devotion to our Catholic faith.

Vico was born in the city of Naples on June 23, 1668, the vigil-day of the Precursor, in whose honor he was given the name of Giovanni Battista, contracted into Giambattista.[3] Vico's parents were poor. They enjoyed an excellent reputation and an honorable ancestry. His father, Antonio, conducted a book-store which faced the Monte della Pietà. His was a gay spirit that typified the blithesome, happy-go-lucky nature of the Neapolitans, while his mother, Candida Masullo, was inclined to be morose. The child, inheriting some of the qualities of both parents, possessed a balanced and equable disposition. At the age of seven, while playing vivaciously on the high balustrade of his dwelling in the Vico Majorani, the boy fell to the street, crushing the right side of his skull. The surgeon predicted that he would either die or survive to be but an imbecile. Providentially, after a convalescence of three years, the boy was well again physically and

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[1] *Bibliografia Vichiana* (Bari, 1911); *La Filosofia di Giambattista Vico* (Bari, 1933).

[2] *Studi Vichiani* (Florence, 1927).

[3] In his *Autobiography*, Vico says that he was born in 1670. This is erroneous, for the year 1668 is verified by all his biographers from baptismal records and deductions from fixed events.

mentally. Nevertheless, the accident changed him from a happy playful child to a brooding melancholy boy who delighted no longer in games, but inclined to solitary profound self-analytical meditations and serious book study. At the age of ten he entered an elementary school where he showed such precociousness that he soon exhausted the talents of his tutors. He was then sent to a superior school conducted by the Jesuits. Here he continued setting a fast pace for his companions. Noting his diligence, the Fathers pitted him against their three brightest scholars. The first soon resigned; the second became ill from the strain; but the third triumphed. Vico maintained that the Fathers had given this favorite student a preview of the examination questions, and so resentful was he that he quit the school. He continued his studies privately, poring over books into the long hours of the night, sometimes till the dawn, much to the bewilderment of his anxious mother who feared for his health. He went through the grammar of Alvarez, the humanities, and started logic. Philosophy fascinated him, so he perused ardently the available works of Petrus Hispanus (Pope John XXI), and Paolo Veneto. Alas, the dryness and subtleties of these medievalists proved too much for this clear-visioned youth, so in disgust he abandoned all study. For a year and a half he allowed his mind to lie fallow. Stumbling one day into a meeting of the Academy of Saint Lawrence where the *literati* of the city were accustomed to hold discussions, the spirit of study was reawakened in him with new vigor. Entering school again, he began studying Plato, Zeno, Aristotle and Scotus under the guidance of a Jesuit, Father Giuseppe Ricci. In time becoming wearied with Father Ricci's prolonged lectures on Being and Substance, and having heard that Suarez treated of *tutto lo scibile in filosofia* in clear and facile style, again he resolved to abandon school and to dedicate himself to a private perusal of the great theologian's works. For one solid year he read and absorbed Suarez with great profit. Once again he resumed classes, this time matriculating in the university where he had the good fortune of sitting under Don Felice Aquadies, professor of law. Here he studied with zest *Le Instituzioni Civili* of Ermanno Vultejo.

Later he supplemented this legal course in both forums by a preview of practical cases under Don Francesco Verde and by a study of the *Instituzioni Canoniche* of Errigo Canisio. He studied what he deemed useful, caring little for the *materie* prescribed by the five-year legal course at the university.

By the time he was sixteen years of age, he had advanced so much in law that he was admitted to the bar, and his very first case was a civil one in which his father was involved. He won it against a formidable adversary, Francesco Aquilante, whereupon it was freely predicted that Vico would become a shining light of the legal profession. Vico, however, did not respond to these prophecies. His inherent love of metaphysics, of jurisprudence and of letters made him abandon the practice of law after his initial victory. The bustle of the bar jarred his meditative mind. He wanted to philosophize on law, rather than employ his time trying cases. Into his mind there crept the concept of a treatise on law, the first symptoms of the writer's itch, which later materialized into masterpieces of thought. His precarious health delayed an early flowering of this impulse to write. The dread scourge of tuberculosis began wasting his lungs. So noticeable was it that his colleagues began calling him *Maestro Tisicuzzo*. He had need of rest and fresh air, but the empty family pocketbook forbade their enjoyment. One day while browsing in a library, he encountered Bishop Geronimo Rocca of Ischia, a devotee of law. In helping the prelate locate a legal tome, a conversation on law ensued. So impressed was the bishop by the youth's proficiency in this favorite field, that he offered him the post of tutor to his two nephews, sons of his brother Dominic, the Marquis of Cilento. Vico accepted gladly, since it represented an opportunity for quiet study with salary, and particularly since it meant a change from the fetid air of crowded Naples to the freshness of the green, wind-swept hills of interior Salerno. Here at Vatolla, in the Castle of Cilento, he spent nine fruitful years: 1686 to 1695. Taking advantage of ample leisure between classes and the paternal treatment of his employer, he spent an enormous amount of time studying, perfecting himself in the Latin and

Italian languages, reading avidly the Roman classics side by side with the Renaissance Italian novelists and poets for style. The excellent library of the Friars Minor Observants nearby was at his disposal. He pored over history, jurisprudence, rhetoric and philosophy. The critical history of Lorenzo Valla impressed him profoundly. His largest gain came from a reading of Catholic dogma, particularly the tracts on grace and predestination. The happy association with Bishop Rocca who coached him in these delicate points of theology, confirmed the Catholic faith so unshakably in him that he ever remained its devoted confessor and ready champion. He gave early proof of this solid grounding in the Faith. Descartes had come into vogue at this time. Vico conceived an animosity towards Cartesian philosophy for its metaphysical, logical and ethical inaccuracies. The whole system, in Vico's clear judgment, could not possibly be reconciled with sound Christian thought. For the rest of his life, Vico fought the influence of Descartes in Italy, and while he incurred thereby the derision of many of his colleagues who had adopted Cartesianism, he contributed in keeping Italy safely moored to sane objective thought.

Upon his return to Naples after this solitude of nine years, he found himself friendless and unknown. Life had gone on without him. Gradually, however, he made himself heard. He had the good fortune to meet Father Gaetano di Andrea, a Theatine, who interested himself in the youth. The good priest invited Vico to become a Theatine. Vico did not feel inclined to the religious life, nor would the advanced age of his impoverished parents, whose only support he was, permit. The Theatine, seeing that the youth's vocation was to remain in the world, promised to advance him. Another good friend was Giuseppe Lucina, a professor of vast erudition, through whose influence Vico was invited (1696) to compose a Latin oration in honor of the Count di San Stefano, the departing Viceroy of Naples. With this entrance into letters, Vico rapidly began to become noticed for his talent, so that commissions to compose eulogies, epitaphs, odes and histories began to pour upon him. This occupation did not

fill his pockets, for his recompense was mostly in thanks, but it kept him in the public eye. Withal he kept at his philosophy, whose energizing ichor, distilled from many fervid meditations on the mysteries of metaphysics, gave substance to the rhythm of his words. He studied Plato with delight, sucked dry the lore of Epicurus, Averroes, the Scholastics, Descartes, Spinoza and his own contemporaries, particularly Malebranche and Locke. Three authors captured the citadel of his fondest admiration: Plato for describing man as he should be; Tacitus for describing man as he is in actuality; and Francis Bacon as a crowning example of a man vastly erudite and intensely practical. These three mental idols constantly inspired him to an emulation of their greatness.

In 1697, encouraged by the contacts he had made among the politically influential, he sought to be appointed secretary of the city of Naples. This office was denied him on the score that he was not a practical man of affairs. In the same year, the chair of rhetoric at the university became vacant. Vico was invited to try for the post. At first he was uninterested, but finally he applied. He contested against many rivals, and for his brilliant hour's exposé of Quintilian's *De Statibus Causarum,* he received the coveted post. The chair paid one hundred *scudi* a year and a few minor perquisites. Thus Vico entered academic life, to persevere therein until his death.[4] Vico commenced his lectures at the university, October 18, 1699. Though formally a professor of rhetoric, his discourses were charged more with the substance of philosophy than graced by the flow of eloquence. While lecturing, he compiled copious notes on a variety of subjects. He read omnivorously and spent long hours of meditation on his readings. In 1708 he presented to the world his first serious work entitled, *De nostri Temporis Studiorum Ratione.* This was well received, which encouraged him to apply himself to something even more weighty and dear at heart, *De Antiquissima Italorum Sapientia ex Lingua Latina eruenda,* 1710. These works made friends for him, among whom were the philosopher

[4] On December 12, 1699, Vico married Teresa Catrina Destito, ten years his junior, the daughter of a fiscal clerk. They had eight children, four of whom died in infancy. Their domestic life was very unhappy owing to poverty.

Paolo Doria, Monsignor Lorenzo Corsini (later Pope Clement XII), and the writer Gianvincenzo Gravina, who not only brightened the gloom of his dismal domestic existence, but made his success in life all the more certain. His ambition was now fully fired by these first successes and he turned to the field of law for fresh laurels. In composing a long history of Marshal Antonio Caraffa, he had had occasion to read Grotius on *De Jure Belli et Pacis,* and he had become entirely enamored both of the subject of jurisprudence and of the author. Grotius came to represent to him the absolute paragon of all writers, superior even to his former idols, Plato, Tacitus and Bacon, because Grotius omitted no element of human experience or theory in his summation of universal law. Here was the philosopher, the historian and the jurist rolled into one. Vico's one regret was that Grotius was not a Catholic. With the aim then of giving a Catholic viewpoint on law, Vico edited in 1721 *De Uno Universi Iuris Principio et Fine Uno,* which was followed the next year with *De Constantia Iurisprudentis.* These legal works gave him greater prestige at the university; and yet, so inexorably did misfortune pursue him that in 1723, when he sought to advance to the more lucrative chair of law, he failed miserably.

This reverse made him turn resignedly to his main studies, philosophy and history. He now conceived the plan of writing a monumental work on the philosophy of human happenings. He felt that there was a need of interpreting the conduct of man in the light of his own varying, evoluting experiences: he would make history a true science. No one yet had done so. They had either recorded facts or had plunged themselves into elaborate criticisms, albeit scholarly, of the records of others. They had not interpreted man in action; they had failed to explain why he did certain things; they had not shown the origin of his institutions nor had they visualized that he passed through certain ever-recurring phases of experiences. At best they had subjected history to an invariable eternal law, wherein accidents and contingencies were negligible and consistent important events alone counted. For Vico, this explanation failed to state the exact position and gnoseological function of history. Far from being negli-

gible, these trivialities, because they are real and free, are *il vero e più immediato reale negli oggetti dell'esperienza,* (che) *ravvalorava i diritti della storia e la faceva come complesso degli avvenimenti e delle azioni che manifestano lo spirito umano, il più degno oggetto di ricerca e di meditazione filosofica.*[5] In other words, human actions symbolize in themselves the real human spirit and are its best manifestation.

This original conviction, which accounted for historical causations by a synthetic view of the "origin, growth, structure and activities of society through the operation of their physical, vital, psychological causes, working together in a process of evolution,"[6] spurred his pen to write what is now called a sociological interpretation of man's history on earth. The work finally appeared in 1725 under the title of *Principi d'una Scienza Nuova d'intorno alla natura delle Nazioni.*[7]

On the whole, while the *Scienza Nuova* stirred up some interest among Vico's associates, it was received with indifference by the scholarly world. He had offered it to the universities of Europe with a prefatory eulogy, but this group ignored it entirely. The world of letters did not take much stock in the serious efforts of an impoverished peasant professor. Some of the ideas it contained were too advanced for the time, while the style was cryptic for many.[8] Others indeed admired his manner of writing, for which reason he continued to receive commissions to compose eulogies and histories, famous among which are the *Panegyricus Philippo V. Hispaniarum Regi Inscriptus, Acta Funeris Caroli*

[5] De Michaelis, *Il Problema delle Scienze Storiche* (Turin, 1915), 256.

[6] Cf. Guilday, *An Introduction to Church History* (St. Louis, 1925), 15.

[7] He dedicated this work to his friend, now Cardinal Corsini, who was warm in its praise, but very slow to render any material assistance. Vico, likewise, submitted the book to ecclesiastical censorship and readily obtained the *imprimatur* from the Curia of Naples.

[8] Some have maintained that he purposely wrote in mysterious phraseology so that the Church, whose good will he ever desired, would not deny him an *imprimatur,* but the implication is false, for the ecclesiastical censor, Don Giulio Torno, a learned theologian, could not be so easily deceived. So strict was the policy of the Church in Naples that in any doubt about orthodox doctrine, permission would be denied. The *imprimatur* was also freely accorded for the later editions.

Sangrii et Josephi Capycii, and *Istoria della Guerra dell'Europa fatta per la monarchia di Spagna.* His tenderest feelings and gallant philosophy on womanhood found expression in a poem which he wrote for a very dear friend, the Marchioness of Petrella, Angiola Cimini.

These literary productions netted him more esteem and profit than the substantial philosophy contained in the *Scienza Nuova,* much to his chagrin, for he wanted to be known as a serious thinker rather than a litterateur. Yet it was precisely this repute in letters which finally made him reach his heart's desire. Charmed by his less serious works, people then went back to his substantial *Scienza Nuova* for new beauties. Slowly he came into favor with the rich and the learned. They knew him to be talented, and since in that day Naples was not over-rich in men of genius, perforce she had to accept Vico as her outstanding son. The most tangible proof of this new esteem is witnessed in the invitation in 1728 by Count Gianartico di Portia to write an autobiography. On March 22, 1714, Leibniz had expressed his regret that no human details of the great men of the past were available; few had ever thought of an autobiography. The count thought something should be done to remedy this, so he conceived the project of having eight living great men of Naples write their own biographies for the edification of posterity. Among the eight he selected Vico. Vico was so overwhelmed by this unexpected flattery that for the moment he forgot his ambition to become immortal, and refused. After some persuasion, he set himself to the task, finishing it on June 23, 1725. In this manner we possess his autobiography, an invaluable guide to the inner soul of a man whose mind flamed with the fires of genius, but whose body, considering character and caste, represented everything weak and lowly. This autobiography is the richest source of information on Vico, not so much for the events of his life, but for an intimate philosophy of all his activities.

The first edition of the *Scienza Nuova* was soon exhausted. Many copies had gone to France and England. Vico toiled for several years at a revision of his book, in order that a second edi-

tion might be received all the more warmly in learned circles. He was very amenable to just criticisms, embodying them humbly in his notes, which rare trait is given fulsome recognition by Gentile.[9] His enthusiasm to incorporate so many new ideas led to difficulties with the printers. A Venetian publisher with whom Vico long negotiated demanded so many changes in the original work that Vico in desperation had to undertake the publishing himself. Owing to his poverty, he was forced to omit many items from the second edition, which lessened its intended value, though it remained a decided improvement on the first. It finally appeared in 1731, dedicated anew to his friend, Cardinal Corsini, now Pope Clement XII.[10]

Shortly after the induction of Charles III as King of Naples on May 10, 1734, a movement was put on foot to have Vico appointed royal historiographer. The king's chaplain, Archbishop Celestino Galiani, on July 5, 1734, wrote to the Minister Montealegre sponsoring the request which Vico had made the month before. On July 2, 1735, the appointment was finally made. Vico was informed of it on July 22, and all Naples applauded, for a native son had been placed in an office newly created by their Spanish rulers. An annual income of a hundred ducats was assigned with this honor. Shortly afterwards, through the influence again of Archbishop Galiani, a reorganization of the university increased the pay of each professor, effecting in Vico's case, a doubling of his former salary. Tanucci, just starting to become notorious as an anti-clerical Prime Minister, even suggested a greater increase in Vico's favor, "por el merito, por la necessidad y honra de istorico R°. que tiene Juan B^a. de Vico . . . a lo menos se le deviesen asignar otros cientos."[11] These sums were the peak of Vico's expectations from his lowly chair and

[9] *Studi Vichiani* (Florence, 1927), 23.

[10] On the back of an old envelope of a letter from Cardinal Corsini to Vico, which stated that the Cardinal could not advance any money for the first edition, was found a melancholy postillum in Vico's handwriting to the effect that the Cardinal had thereby forced him to sell a diamond of five grains of purest water, Vico's only luxury, to defray the expenses of printing. *Ibid.*, 212.

[11] *Ibid.*, 224.

afforded him some needed comforts in the distress of his declining years. For years he had been suffering with throat trouble and this had grown alarmingly, nor did the dangerous expedient of his physician, Domenico Vitolo, to check it by the fumes of burnt cinnabar help much. This added to his tubercular condition made Vico's last years extremely sad. In 1737, he suffered a shock which left him a confirmed invalid. His son Gennaro, schooled carefully by Vico himself, substituted for his father at the university whenever it was necessary. It was Vico's last wish that this beloved son be officially appointed his successor in the chair of rhetoric. His petition to the throne, seconded anew by Archbishop Galiani, was finally granted on January 12, 1741. This chair, formally assumed after his father's death, was occupied by Gennaro till his own death in 1806. Few were the days, however, that Gennaro had to take his father's place in the class-room. As long as he was able, Vico continued his lectures, tutored, wrote and applied himself to the task of preparing a third edition of his beloved masterpiece. In a conflict between his own ideas and those of his publishers, seven times he painfully scribbled the entire revision till his hand dropped nerveless over the unending manuscript. His affliction often left him speechless for days, or motionless, and finally began to cloud his brilliant mind, so that he could not even recognize his own children. Once he was for fourteen months in this comatose condition. Periods of lucidity would come, and then his dauntless spirit would impel him to his desk to add some new touch to his cherished *Scienza Nuova*. He was about to see the third edition on the market: he had written a fine dedication of it to Cardinal Troiano Acquaviva on January 10, 1744, when the long dark night, wherein no man can work, descended upon him. He died on January 20, 1744, lisping a psalm of David, after his friend, Don Nicola Merula, parish priest of Santa Sofia a Capuana, had administered to him the last rites and blessings of the Church he loved so well. His demise was regretted by all Naples. He was buried in the Church of the Friars of the Oratory, where Vico often had prayed and where he wished to rest forever. The remains were neglected till 1789,

when his son Gennaro had them placed in a column of the central nave near the altar of Saint Agnes.[12]

The philosophy of Vico is one of healthy optimism. Basing his whole thought on a firm faith in the Absolute Perfect Being, there unfolded gradually to his piercing reason the gladsome truth of the high dignity and destiny of man. Life was real and life was sweet, for it afforded a glimpse of and a contact with the Infinite Good. Moored to this solid faith, he ever kept within the bounds of orthodoxy, though his fervent mind often went seeking in the most remote by-paths of thought. Scholasticism was distasteful to him for he felt that it unduly humiliated reason by its excessive reliance on authority. He preferred rather the method of pure reason: wherefore his philosophy is not distinctly Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, in spite of his intended method, the traditions of the faith were so vivid in his mind that they prevented the advancing of any doctrine that would clash with accepted Christian thought.

He had an inherent appreciation of the age-old injunction, *Gnothi Seauton,* for the knowledge of self, in his mind, was the basis of all genuine wisdom and the chief motive for advancement on the road to truth. His lectures to the young men at the university were constantly on the theme of the blessings that accrue from the perception of self. The arts and sciences are good, but only the study of the *ego* brings relative satisfaction to the entire nature of man. The acquisition of this knowledge makes the soul conform to virtue, fosters that which is divine in us, and confers on man citizenship in the city of God, the world pervaded and ruled by His wisdom.

This knowledge he himself sought through metaphysical speculation, through a study of the roots of the Latin tongue, and through a review of human events. For him philology was more

[12] There are two statues of Vico in Naples, one in the Villa Nazionale since 1861, and the other in the atrium of the University with those of its other great alumni, Pier della Vigna and Thomas Aquinas. There is a stone inscription to his memory in front of the convent and in the courtyard of the Castle of Cilento, another on the façade of the church at Vatolla, while the room he occupied at Vatolla has been made into an oratory.

fruitful than geometry, and history far more convincing than pure speculation. He was indeed enamored of the powers of the mind, believing reason capable of many *a priori* findings, but he ever retained a solid respect for facts. This wholesome combination of the analytic and the experimental method helped him to avoid the many pitfalls into which extremists invariably fall.

He did not have any patience with philosophers who are prone to conceal their lack of knowledge by obscure diction. The truly learned man, he felt, is conscious of his ignorance in many things and is candid in confessing it. Humility and candor lead better to the truth than pride and subterfuge, which only retard its acquisition. Likewise, he was hostile to any philosophy which aimed at being exclusively critical, or even which rested entirely on rigorous reason. In his view, philosophy should be both topical and critical, taking into account probabilities as well as certainties, and ever subjecting cold speculation to the warm test of common sense.

Vico's own method may be criticized as inadequate, since in history he ignored many nations and races, particularly those of the Orient, and in philology he was not careful enough to arrive at the real derivations of many root-words, while his whole system was weakened at the start by a gratuitous assumption of the leadership of the Latin mind in all the valuable sciences. By reason of these defects he would often find himself in the toils, and if he pursued his first path logically, he would wind up in an absurd theory. He had the happy faculty, however, of adroitly breaking the line of thought and finally emerging with an unexpected contribution. If his studies did not carry him to the Indies of his original ambition, they nevertheless brought him to an America of undreamt immortality.

In his gnoseology, Vico struck boldly to clothe *scienza* with a dignity unattainable by other mental processes. He distinguished three elements or grades, *cogitatio, certitudo, scientia.* Starting with a Platonic concept of universals, as transmitted and shaped by scholastic tradition, in which words are admitted to be signs and ideas, and ideas signs of things, he defined *cogitatio,* (*pen-*

siero), as a lower kind of thought implying hesitation and reflection; *certitudo* (*coscienza*), as the mental awareness *sine formidine errandi* of a truth without knowing its causes, and *scientia* (*scienza*), as the mental possession of a truth to its very cause. *Vere scire est per causas scire,* that is, a knowledge that explains a thing while making the mind aware of its existence. Accordingly, contrary to Descartes' famous premise, Vico held that we are aware of our existence, but do not know our existence, since we cannot put the finger on its cause. We *know* only a few things: we are aware of many, and most of the things we say we know are only in the grade of *certitudo.* God alone knows all things, and He knows them because He understands them in their very cause, since He decreed their being and they exist only as He decreed (made) them. We too know only those things we *make.* Those things which we do not make, but which come under our notice as accomplished realities are only certainties (learning). God eternally generated all truth when He decreed its existence. This eternally-generated truth becomes in instances created truth when man, working in and through God, penetrates to the inner principles of anything and makes its truth a reality to his own mind. Truth is the conformity of the mind to causes of things: *verum et factum convertuntur, factum* here keeping its root meaning from *facere,* to make. Hence only that which is created by the mind is a truth to the mind, not everything that happens to be. Thus man *knows* mathematics, a science of his making. Abstracting from matter the idea of a unit, man proceeds from this metaphysical notion to multiply, divide and combine this unit *ad libitum.* Similarly, abstracting from matter the idea of a point, he forms lines, areas, angles, etc. The sciences of mathematics and geometry, accordingly, are mental products, true creations of the human spirit from nominal elements of man's own abstractions, analagous to and dependent upon God's eternal generation of truth from real elements.

The elements of all science and learning can be reduced to three: namely, knowledge, will and power (*nosse, velle, posse*). Once we know a thing, we desire it and are capable of acquiring it. This trinity in unity is the central fact of man's universe, the

key which unlocks its mysteries. Of the existence of these three elements we are as certain as our own existence, for they are present in all thought, and thought is the only thing of which we cannot doubt. Through the medium of these three elements, the light of eternal truth penetrates into all the sciences, wherefore these sciences, correlated through their common origin from God, become acquirable by man.

Again for Vico, the sure sign of truth is to have made it. *Veri criterium ac regulam ipsum esse fecisse.* Knowledge is not only power, but must have its source in the power of the mind to pierce to its cause. The clear idea of Descartes cannot be the criterion, for while the mind apprehends itself, it fails the requirements of the *vere scire,* since it did not make itself. *A fortiori,* innate ideas are to be rejected. When objections were presented to him, Vico had a difficulty in proving his point. He confessed that likely there was no one criterion for all truth. He failed to make clear what he thought, which is regrettable, but we must remember that no philosopher who has written on this subject has been entirely convincing. To explain wisdom, one must have it, and wisdom yet remains the desideratum of man.

Vico's intensive studying and teaching enabled him to formulate many solid principles of education. He insisted that children should be taught first the languages, then history and fable, followed by the natural sciences and arts. When mature, the student can begin delving into the philosophies, starting with ethics to give him the moral bearing of a man, then sociology to fit him for a citizen, and finally theology to unite him to God. His theory was that individual man should learn even as the race learned. Early man first stressed his imagination and memory, then his senses, then his reason, and finally he is wrapt in contemplation. Hence his reasonably-splendid progress. The crowning pursuit of cultured man is jurisprudence, which includes metaphysics and eloquence. The student must first be taught how to create, how to find and how to build, before being given the task of tearing down others' work by criticism. Learning is a matter of the will. It should be pursued in orderly fashion, without constraint, with-

out haste and without resort to synopses or compendia. The modern man is better equipped than the ancient in his pursuit of wisdom, but faces greater dangers. If he is careful to avoid these perils, the facilities at his present command will enable him to achieve an intellectual stature far superior to the sage of antiquity.

For Vico, metaphysics was the truest of all sciences. Our knowledge of it is not by causes but of causes. A cause is that which adequately explains a thing in its internal composition and external relation, *quella che per produrre l'affetto, non ha d'altra bisogno.* A substance is that which stands under and sustains a thing, indivisible in itself, divisible in the things which it sustains, retaining always the same virtue (of sustaining) in all things notwithstanding their diversity. One substance may be sustained by another substance which itself is unsustained. This one is the Absolute Substance, while all the rest are relative. This is a far cry from Spinoza's *Id quod in se est et per se concipitur,* though many profess to see in Vico the same pantheistic tendencies.

Vico explained the constituents of matter with his doctrine of metaphysical points. As in geometry, where the mathematical point, itself extentionless, is the basis of all extension, so for the world of reality, the metaphysical point, itself not physical, is the basis of all material existence. Strictly speaking the mathematical point is metamathematical, for it rests on a metaphysical principle, namely the virtue of extension. The basis of extension, this point, itself not extended, when joined with the metaphysical virtue of extension, produces mental extension (geometry). Similarly, the basis of number, the unit, itself not a number, when joined with the abstract virtue of number, produces mental numbers (arithmetic). In like manner, the metaphysical points of real extension and of momentum, themselves not extended or mobile, when joined with the metaphysical principle of the virtue of extension and of momentum, produce real physical extension and motion. These metaphysical points are the *materia prima* of creation, distinguished from the forms of things. Things receive their formal constituence from their prototypes in the Divine

Mind. Thus while they are material forms, they possess not a property of ordinary matter, and in reality are spiritual modes of one Being, forth-puttings of the Divine Will, pure forces and potencies to which have been given the fixity of existence. This transition from the metaphysical points, or nature *in fieri,* to extended matter, or nature *in facto esse,* is effected by the *conatus* of the points, a metaphysical energy, which is not physical motion, but the principle and basis of motion, somewhat like the monads of Leibniz. To visualize this theory, picture a mighty circle, at the center of which there is Being, the One Absolute Substance, God, in perfect rest. At the circumference of the circle, there are existences, compound and multiple objects in constant motion. Within the circumference are the points, modes of being, essences, virtues and principles in the state of effort, which *conatus* produces the world of physical reality.

This explanation of the age-old problem of how multiplicity of existences can be reconciled with Eternal Unity, may be inadequate and open to grave suspicion, but it has the merit of steering a middle course between those who have denied all plurality and those who have rejected unity. Vico's theory of *conatus,* in which the idea of causes that are equal in themselves are said to produce unequal effects, implies a rejection of the very principle of causation, which would make Vico approximate the position later taken by Hume and Comte. For all the possible implications of his obscure terminology, Vico was never pantheistic or rationalistic. For him, God is the one true Substance, of which the metaphysical points and physical realities are simply the primary and secondary potentations, and yet themselves substances diverse from His. God and man are distinct moral personalities, both separate in essence and free in will.

Much of Vico's studies on the soul have to do with the race as a unit, wherefore his *Scienza Nuova* has been referred to at times as the Psychology of the Nations. Vico conceived the world as a moral personality, which originated through God with a definite plan for its development. This plan unfolds itself with every experience of man. Nothing happens to him except that it be

ordained to his racial evolvement, so that all history's happenings are but vindications of the ways of God, who guides and governs the world of men. Nations have the same nature and go through the same experiences. There are three cycles, regular and recurrent in this development, namely, the divine, the heroic and the human. After the fall and flood, the majority of the human race, the progenitors of the Hebrews alone excepted, blinded by a sense of individual kingship and greedy for the pleasures of a virginal earth, roamed the world solitary. In time this solitary life degenerated man. He gradually lost every attribute of humanity and became feral in temperament and appearance. Once conscious of his obligations to the Being that made him, he now recognized no law except the urge of his animal appetites. From this animalism, God recalled man by mighty cataclysms of nature, which instilled terror into his savage heart. Terror caused him to associate with his kind for protection, whereupon an inherent feeling of shame (*pudor*) found expression. Despite any excess during this "cave-man" period, at no time was there a nation of atheists, at no time did man take a woman carnally in the presence of others or went entirely naked, and never did he allow the bodies of the dead to rot above the ground. These primal impluses became the true *foedera humanitatis,* the occasions which called society into actual being and started the gradual process of civilization. The impulse to acknowledge a superior being developed into religion; the sense of a need of privacy and of some lasting contact between the sexes established matrimony; the instinct to bury the dead, a clear manifestation of an inherent belief in the immortality of the soul and of the dignity of the body, inaugurated a ritual. Many excesses, superstitions, improprieties and immoralities developed out of these primordial practices of religious rites, marriage and funerals, but withal man held grimly on to the principle of these beliefs, and through them gradually ascended to the plane he occupies today.

In the first age of this development, humanity, still being in bewildering infancy, riotously imagined every force of nature to be a personal deity, exaggerated its own fears and built up a

fantastic universe of spirits, benevolent and malignant. It was the age of myths, superstitions, divinations, idolatry. Gradually there came a better sense, wherein the worship of the old gods and demons was converted to a reliance on personalities more concrete and tangible—to super-men and heroes. It was the age of fables, of the epics of antiquity, which culminated in the glory of classical Greece. Finally came the human age, in which practical reason held sway, wherein man banished his fears of the unknown forces and set about coldly to harness the powers about him. This age culminated in the Roman Empire, the peak of ancient glory and endeavor.

The cycle started anew after the fall of Rome. The dark ages, wherein ignorance and apathy prevailed, were another divine period: the feudal or medieval era was another heroic age, while our present span is a new human age. Yet this second cycle is quite different from the first. For Vico, these cycles are not monotonous repetitions. He had faith in the constant betterment of the race. This betterment could only come about through recurrences of experiences, for man must always be given another chance. This new chance is similar to the first, but not identical, for identity would only make his condition static. The God of nations guides the soul of humanity to a more fulsome flowering by regulated impulses, diverse in effects but coordinated to a grand definite end.

In particular psychology, Vico held that in man there are three principles, the *anima,* the *animus* and the *mens.* The *anima* is the seat of life, the source merely of the motion of the blood and vital spirits, produced by means of the air in the heart and arteries. With it alone, creatures are like machines, moved from without, subject to the animal automatism taught by Descartes. The *animus* is an internal principle of motion, which acts freely, but depends for its operation on the motions of the *anima.* Its seat is not in the pineal gland, but in the heart, for it is here that heat, energy and motion center, where life first appears and last departs.[13] It is the *animus* which is the *expressissimum Dei*

[13] At an earlier date, Vico had taught that the soul was not located in any particular part of the body.

simulacrum. As in the *anima* is the *animus,* so in the *animus* is the *mens.* God rules the entire being through the mind. He is the light of all our seeing, the source of all our doing, much like the active intelligence of Aristotle, the ethereal sense of the Stoics, and the demon of Socrates. This light never wavers. Even in error or evil it shines, for we do not incline to error except that we think it true, nor to evil, except that we see it good. The faculties of human nature are sense, memory, imagination, intellect, genius. Sense is a faculty by which man, instead of receiving impressions from without, makes, as far as its help goes, what stands for the world without. The objects of our senses are also the productions of our senses. Colors, odors, sounds, etc., are not independent of vision, smell, hearing, etc., but due to them. Take away the senses, and all that is left of the physical world are the metaphysical points in extension and motion. Memory is the faculty of recalling, as well as preserving, what has previously been perceived. Imagination uses the memory to fashion its world of phantasy. Without it, man has no poetry, eloquence, culture. Intellect, again, is the faculty of knowing, of being conscious of, or thinking about a thing. *Ingenium* is the highest power in man, being a force which collects and unites things disjoined and diverse. It is the most immediate organ of the divine ideas, so that its sway in the mind is the reign of divine reason itself. It is the insight of a man of genius, the ingenuity of the inventor, the good common sense of humanity: it is that which makes a man "brilliant." With Christianity, Vico held that the soul of man is a simple, spiritual substance, indestructable and immortal, substantially united to his body to form one identity.

Vico would have rejected animal origin had anyone broached it in his day, for he firmly believed in an immediate creation of the body of man, nor could he detect any probability in a continuous and all-comprehensive biological evolution. A wondrous being, superior to all creation, made by the very hands of God in his present form, he gives evidence through his propensity for evil of an original fall. Though prone to evil, he retains the freedom of his will with which he was first endowed. By the right

employment of this will, desiring only the good out of the mass which the intellect presents for his choice, man is able to aright in some measure the havoc of the fall. Womanhood is more responsive to virtuous impulses and her gentle influence refines and inspires man to virtue. The domestic life is ordained above other influences to strengthen man against the hardships of existence and to incite him to greatness. The home is the forge wherein are molded all our good habits, and the family is the base and epitome of society.

Vico entertained the commonly-Christian views on God's nature and His attributes. He firmly rejected any *a priori* proofs of God's existence, deeming them to be nothing but impious sophisms. He carried his famous gnoseological distinction between truth and consciousness even here, maintaining that we do not *know* God, since we do not make Him, but we are very certain of His existence by a multiplicity of infallible signs.

Man has for his end, as he had for his origin, God himself. This end is to be realized not in mere speculative thought, but through productive action, physical and moral, personal and social, in conformity to reason and truth. This activity, virtue, alone brings man to beatitude and to the vision of God. The social state is the native condition of man. Society was not founded by a compact because of need, utility or fear. Man was made for communion both with God and with his fellow-men; his very nature calls for companionship. In the beginning, man went against his nature, living out of society, and thereby degraded himself, for man cannot be truly man except through human consociation. The actual existence of society came about when man was finally awakened to the requirements of his nature after his night of animalism by thunderbolts from heaven. The ancestors of the Jews had never fallen into a bestial condition because they had preserved a society from the days of Adam. Vico cleverly noted that while man is natively social, he is not necessarily endowed with the disposition of sociability. Nature's purpose in urging communion is not principally because of bodily needs or the exchange of material advantages, but for the accruing benefits

to mind and soul. It is mind more than body that explains society, the body, in instances, really tending on account of its limits, to separate man, while the mind through the perception of the universal and immutable ideas cements them together. Society, then, is a confirmation of thought and an exchange of thought, the necessary condition of all sane and successful thinking. Through this clearing house of ideas, common-sense is born and a sure basis of truth established.

The benefits of society to the individual man are distributed through the medium of law, and as society is not of man's making, neither is law. Law has its roots and justification, not in individual man or in collective man, but in the eternal order of things decreed by the Infinite Mind which made man a social animal with a definite destiny. Natural laws, then, are the very conditions of human existence, preservation, development and well-being, while positive laws are necessarily the continuance for concrete occasions of these inherent norms. Unless these laws guarantee and regulate the three primary rights from nature, namely, liberty, dominion and safety, principles that flow from the very notion of eternal justice and the abiding providence of God, they are destructive, nor can human nature be at rest as long as the principles of justice inherent in reason are disregarded in practice. A nation destroys itself when it goes contrary to the natural law, and can only amend itself by retracing its steps back to the feet of justice whence it went astray. Laws once established cannot be understood if studied apart from the motives, circumstances, and necessities which originated them. A jurist has to be a philosopher to ascertain the principles of law, and a historian to know the whole past application of it in every generation and for every nation. This is why Vico thought much of Grotius, for he had combined the philosopher and the historian in his tracts on law.

Vico held that the political and juristic development of a people depended on their religious and moral stature. The earliest governments were patriarchal. In time there developed, as the family grew to the size of a nation, the aristocratic, monarchic

and democratic forms. Vico was original in distinguishing the fact which gives birth to a government from the motive which gives it authority. Aristocracy, the first definite form, arose out of the poverty, ignorance and degradation of the many: monarchy out of their weakness in war and rebellion, while democracy came about through a sentiment of equality before the law. The motive behind aristocracy is the power of manners and customs; behind monarchy, an arbitrary will regarded as of divine appointment, while behind democracy is the expression of the common will. All three are embraced in an order which is divine. No one form is lastingly best, for nations go through crises which demand a rotation of the three forms.

An inner sense of shame not to have known and remorse not to have obeyed a law is the most just and efficacious expiation of crime. When the criminal really feels such shame and remorse, no other punishment is necessary: remedy and amendment follow, for this self-chastisement is the most proportionate correction of the fault committed. When the criminal does not have this internal feeling of remorse, society in its interests must inflict material and external punishment to supply it in effect. This punishment must be modelled on what the internal sense of shame would have imposed: the voice of the judge without should correspond to the voice of the judge within, if there were one. Otherwise, penal laws would be arbitrary and vengeful, sinning either by defect or excess. Authority to punish, then, is based on the principles of eternal justice, which demands that a wrong committed must be arighted.

This arighting of violations of justice by an individual is the same principle that justifies wars, which are *iudicia iuris,* or an attempt by a constituted group of men to correct wrongs against justice inflicted on them by another group. Adjustments of injuries should be sought first through peaceful discussions. If these fail there may be a resort to arms. War should not be conducted by men possessed of mere military ability, but rather by men of learning: by a Xenophon rather than an Attila, for a man of letters will achieve a victory more readily and more securely

than a man of brawn. The fruits of victory for a country are three, namely, *pax, otium* and *tranquillitas. Pax* is the settlement of discord wherein a state, free from the agitation of conflict, pursues the even tenor of its ways. *Otium* is the enjoyment of personal liberty and serenity by each citizen when his country is at peace, while *tranquillitas,* made possible by the preceding two states, represents the blessed period wherein rulers and citizens in common endeavor labor for the security, prosperity and exaltation of their nation.

Vico has been characterized by some writers as the solitary genius of an arid region in an arid age, an anachronism in intellect that passed unfathomed and unhonored amid complacement mediocrity, and that his worth is only now becoming appreciated. To others, he appears as the trumpet of his time, the sublime mind that astonished his age with the originality of his thoughts and the vigor of his advanced reason. As Croce puts it, he was the "nineteenth century in germ," from which flowered much of the liberal thought of that progressive span. Both these opinions may be reconciled. Vico was a voice that cried in a wilderness of torpor. Only a few contemporaries thrilled to the timbre of the divine afflatus of his words, and these were impotent to reecho the message to the masses. His age heard but did not understand. The waves of his sound kept cycling over a dull earth, till in time sensitized tympana tingled to the dynamic cadence of his cryptic wisdom. Caught in the enthusiasm of the rhythm, these first auditors bent every effort to transmit the melody of Vico to ears less keen by indefatigable research and copious broadcasts, so that now, with a rich interpretative literature at its disposal, the world understands Vico to have been a mighty preacher of the deathless gospel of truth.

He came into the world when Italy was passing through a melancholy stage of her history. She was dismembered, exhausted, leaderless. The power of the papacy, the Maecenas of genius, was at a low ebb due to the incessant turmoils of maintaining its temporalities within and resisting the tide of the Protestant Rebellion from without. Foreign foes held Italy's fairest cities

in ruinous subjection, while those still free pulsed with feeble beat after the life-blood of their commerce had been transfused to the veins of rival nations upon the discovery of the New World.

On top of these political and financial calamities, the unfortunate misunderstanding between the Church and Galileo had tended to chill the progressive spirit of the pioneers in thought. Italy loved the faith, regarding its purity more prize-worthy than any bauble of science. Scholars there were, willing to scrap the faith when it seemingly conflicted with their scientific discoveries: there were atheists and apostates who scoffed at the restraint of authority, but the vast majority of Italy's learned sons instinctively shied clear of any new thought that in any way challenged the apostolic traditions. Alas, this circumspection in time became stagnation. Chary in the enunciation of any new idea, there resulted finally a dearth of all ideas. The period between Galileo and Vico is barren of talent. A few like Castelli, Cavalieri, Torricelli, rose to shed honor on Italy, but not in the preeminent field of the queenly sciences. Italy, immemorially the fertile genetrix of genius, had become sterile, while her neighbors were becoming the "happy mothers of children." She who had taught the nations, now humbly sat at the feet of Descartes, Locke, Malebranche and Spinoza for the crumb of a new idea.

Particularly in Naples, where despotism loved to flourish, the arm of the tyrant gladly rose in its might to crush any incipient heresy, lest heresy wreck the throne as well as the altar. All this was very proper, but in crushing heresy, it very often blasted sane progressive thought as well.

Now Vico's contribution, as I see it, lies mainly in this: that he, while loving his Faith, insisted that he, as a Roman Catholic, had ample freedom of thought and expression. In this way he finally broke the shackles which Catholic scholarliness had imposed on itself. He saw clearly into Galileo's troubles. He did not condemn the Church for condemning Galileo in 1633; Galileo himself had not condemned her, which modern "free-thinkers" seem to forget. Nor did Vico take the condemnation as a veto on all future scientific research, as many squeamish scholars had

done to the detriment of thought. He insisted that he could remain a good Catholic and yet enjoy freedom of investigation. He resolved to search in unchartered fields: he hoped to find new truths, but whatever he found, he would submit to the judgment of an infallible Church. Galileo had fallen into trouble, not for the fact of the rotation of the earth around the sun, but for his defence of it on Scripture, which book only the *ecclesia docens,* guided by the Holy Spirit, can interpret. Besides, the astronomer's troubles had arisen from the over-zealousness (call it pigheadedness, if you will), of an ecclesiastical commission, which no matter how authoritative, did not enjoy the prerogative of infallibility. Vico kept a clear head. He had faith in the Church that had produced and fostered the old masters: the Church that had blessed and aided the startling liberal researches of Albert the Great, Copernicus, Scotus, Alcuin and Roger Bacon, could not possibly be static and reactionary; the Church that had encouraged a host of artists, whose paintings, poetry and sculptures are so bold and advanced that only a broad-minded soul could possibly countenance them; the Church, whose very founder had prided himself on doing away with the useless truck of the Pharasaic past. With this happy conviction in mind, a true solution, Vico investigated his dearest fields, the events of history, the roots of words and the recesses of philosophy. These investigations led to writings which represented original contributions in philology, law, history, philosophy, and the social sciences, and brought him to the absolute creation of a new science, the philosophy of history. Merely for discovering the True Homer, out of the chaff of ancient fables, is his fame secure. On top of this, he gave us a sure key in interpreting classical mythology, outlined the cyclical movements of history, *corsi e ricorsi,* pierced the mystery of the Laws of the Twelve Tables that had baffled historians and jurists for centuries, and was one of the first to suggest an *etymologicum universale* to correct the confusion of Babel.

Great as these contributions were, his chief service was the inspiration he gave his own contemporaries and subsequent scholars. His writings awakened Italy from her torpor, incited her talented

sons to new untrammeled efforts, and gave a healthy impetus to scholars of every nation. His thought is traceable in Montesquieu, Rousseau, Comte, Spencer. Whether or not these borrowed unblushingly from Vico, as many maintain, is still problematical, but it is certain that the Neapolitan first hit upon many of their advanced ideas. Croce insists that Vico even anticipated the immanentism of Kant, while Sorrentino asserts that his influence penetrated to Foscolo, Leopardi and Manzoni. Gioberti and Mamiani confess their reliance on Vico, while most of the modern scholars of Italy, ecclesiastical and lay, are glad to acknowledge a great debt to him.

His equipment was so meagre. He had taught himself (*autodidascolos* Coloprese called him), thereby receiving a vast but one-sided education. He pledged allegiance to no system of philosophy, to no school of thought. He had no influence, no means, and no health. All he had was a firm belief in Catholicism, an inquisitive brain, and an ambition to serve the cause of truth. In his day, the old metaphysical and theological mentality of medievalism was being challenged by the appeal of the natural sciences. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine, physics and botany were the vogue. Boyle, Newton, Kepler, Galileo, Spallanzani, Descartes, Francis Bacon, were giving to the world something tangible, and the world, weary of metaphysical abstractions, was looking with favor upon their glittering offerings, welcoming the proxy of phenomena with greater *éclat* than the principal of the substance beneath. In this conflict, Vico took the virtuous middle position. He saw too well the utter necessity of metaphysics, of pursuing the truth to its last why, instead of being satisfied with secondary causes, but unlike many metaphysicians, he appreciated the practical sciences, bent every effort to improve them, and encouraged their pursuit. He did not have talents for all of them, but he did contribute to several. A true biology did not yet exist, ethnology was in swaddling clothes, philology was anemic through diffidence, law had become unbalanced by neglect of its own speculative phases, while history had become too factual and polemic. Vico's burning aim was to supply the deficiencies of these sciences: to this task he

consecrated the whole span of his life, so it may well be said that he did his share in the building up of the beauteous temple of human knowledge.

Vico, then, is the link between the Scholastic philosophy of the glorious past and the fast-developing new, a synthesis of the sedate old and the morning star of a dawning progressivism. He did not tie himself rigorously to old forms, nor did he rush headlong into positivism and rationalism. He kept himself free to find truth wherever he could, and the truth he found is a wholesome blending of the canons of Christianity with the claims of right reason.

Vico is not gigantic, nor need we make him a hero. His destiny was to relight the way, to prepare the paths as another John the Baptist, upon which mightier minds, more scientifically trained and happily circumstanced, might tread in safety to wisdom's height. The name of Precursor well becomes him, and the honor we give and will give to the leaders in human thought, is also his, for somewhat through his efforts, the world awoke to a fresh appreciation of the human spirit.

PAUL C. PERROTTA.

MISCELLANY

I

A FRENCH BISHOP FOR LOUISIANA
(1722-1763)

During the whole of the French regime in Louisiana (1699-1763), no bishop was appointed to that colony. As is well known, French Louisiana was under the direct jurisdiction of the Bishops of Quebec from 1685 until 1713, when Bishop de Mornay was consecrated at Paris as coadjutor to Bishop Saint-Vallier. De Mornay, however, was unwilling to go to Canada even after Saint-Vallier's death (1727) and eventually he resigned (1733). In May, 1722, the Province of Louisiana was divided into three districts which were placed under the jurisdiction of three vicars-general: the first under the Capuchin superior at New Orleans; the second under the Carmelite superior at Mobile; and the third under the Jesuit superior of the Illinois missions. A few months later, on July 22, 1722, in an unsigned *mémoire* presented to Cardinal Dubois, then Minister of State in France, we read:

> Several years ago it was proposed to establish Bishops to govern the new churches in the French Colonies of America, both on the mainland and in the Islands. Owing to repeated remonstrances of the Popes, the interests of a great number of settlers and of other persons having at heart the establishment of Religion in the New World, the late King [*Louis XIV*], acting on the advice of Father LeTellier [*S. J.*] his confessor, had decided, a few months before his death [*1715*], to establish a Bishop either in that part of the Island of S. Domingo which belongs to France, or in *Louisiana*, which is too far away from Quebec to receive the necessary help from the Bishop of this See.[1]

The writer of the *mémoire* then describes the action of the courts of Spain and Portugal in establishing bishoprics in their American colonies. This he believes to be worthy of imitation by the French government. He emphasizes the necessity of episcopal jurisdiction in the French-American colonies both of the West Indies and of Louisiana, if the people are to be preserved from heretical contamination, since the colonies are being settled by Protestants and other non-Catholic groups. Moreover, the religious situation was abnormal from the nationalistic viewpoint, since the French clergy were obliged in some matters to have recourse to the jurisdiction of the Spanish Archbishop of San Domingo. The Spanish bishops were not making visitations of these French settlements, and consequently

[1] Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, *Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, 7, 131-131v.

the settlers were left without the Sacrament of Confirmation. No ordination had ever taken place. Heretics were being admitted to those islands, such as Protestants, Anglicans, Socinians and others, owing to the absence of a bishop who could prevent the progress of error. Appeals for matrimonial dispensations had to be sent directly to Rome and then promulgated by the ecclesiastical court of San Domingo.[2] This abuse was recognized by D'Aguesseau, then Chancellor of France. The *mémoire* continues:

> These evils, my Lord, can easily be remedied by having a titular Bishop in San Domingo or in Louisiana. His Majesty should appoint him at once and should urge upon the Court of Rome the canonical erection of the See. But since the erection of this new bishopric might be delayed and the good effected by the presence of a bishop in these places deferred too long, His Majesty should at the same time ask His Holiness to consecrate as bishop *in partibus* a priest appointed by the king, giving him the powers of vicar-apostolic in the French colonies in America, until each Island or considerable town could have its own bishop. This bishop could at least visit from time to time all the churches of the colonies, and even should he only visit them once in a decade to confirm, to ordain, and to establish good vicars-general in each island to govern in his absence, he would thus provide for the most urgent needs. Leogane in the island of San Domingo, or New Orleans in Louisiana, could be assigned as his episcopal residence.[3]

A benefice should be assigned to the incumbent of the See and the alms of the faithful in France would provide for his sustenance and for that of his clergy until they could be provided for by their own flocks.[4]

Cardinal Dubois forwarded this memorial to the Conseil de Marine then in charge of the affairs of the French colonies. The answer was another *mémoire* against the proposition to establish a bishop in Louisiana. The Council denied the existence of the alleged abuses in the colony which had been recently taken over by the Company of the Indies. Besides it was impolitic at this time to suggest that all was not for the best in that best of possible worlds—Louisiana. Moreover, and this was the worst feature of the project, it would cost money, as we see in the following excerpt:

> The proposal to erect a bishopric in Louisiana cannot be listened to. The ecclesiastics established there are under the Bishop of Quebec, and even if there were no bishop, it can be said that the proposal is, to say the least, premature. To support a bishopric, the colony must be well established. Towns, villages, or at least settlements, sufficiently close to one another, are necessary. As it is, the population of Louisiana is scattered and is a more suitable field for the zeal of a few missionaries than for the dignity of a bishop, which necessarily supposes a considerable body of clergy; and these cannot be provided for without running into great expense. No answer is

[2] *Ibid.*, 132. [3] *Ibid.*, 133. [4] *Ibid.*, 135v.

needed to what is said in the *mémoire* with regard to the impieties committed in Louisiana. The Commissaries of the Council in charge of the affairs of the Company of the Indies would not tolerate them, were the facts, such as put forth in the *mémoire*, true.[5]

The document then gives the reasons for refusing to support the erection of a bishopric in the West Indies. It would cost too much; the abuses can be remedied by the Religious who are there; the heretics are no great danger, since they are not allowed the public exercise of their religion:

> The foundation of a Seminary seems altogether unnecessary . . . Let all the colonists attend to trade and to the tilling of the land. Should some settler be better off, and be able to afford his children a higher education, the colleges of the kingdom should profit thereby. If these children should happen to have a vocation for the ecclesiastical state, there are seminaries in the kingdom where they will receive a far better education than in those which would be established in the colonies.[6]

As for the Sacrament of Confirmation this inconvenience could be remedied by occasionally sending bishops *in partibus* to administer this sacrament.[7] The promulgation of marriage dispensations and of papal bulls can be done by the ecclesiastical court of San Domingo.

The author of the first petition continued, however, to importune the king, although all reference to Louisiana was now omitted. His arguments in favor of the erection of a bishopric apply exclusively to the French West Indies.[8] None of these *mémoires* is signed, but the author is known from another unsigned *mémoire* in the French Archives, dated 1729:

> M. l'Abbé Gervaise, provost of the Cathedral of Tours, has always had a strong desire to become a bishop in the colonies. He tried in vain to obtain that dignity under the administration of the Conseil de Marine, and seeing that M. de Morville who succeeded to this Council, persisted in refusing to grant his request, he was reduced to petitioning to go to the colonies to convert the savages. This was granted him, but at the same time, he was told that consent would never be given to his becoming a bishop in the colonies.[9]

This unknown writer himself opposed the project of a bishopric for the colonies: "It would be tantamount to sending there a third power which

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[5] Archives des Colonies (cited as AC.), C 13A, 16: 410-410v.—In the margin: "This memorial was shown to His Highness the Regent, on July the . . . (*sic*) 1722. H. R. H. has decided: Sufficient, send copy of it to H. E. Cardinal Dubois."

[6] *Ibid.*, 412-413.

[7] *Ibid.*, 413.

[8] Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. fr., n. a., 2610: 38-39; and 40-43.

[9] BN., MSS. fr., n. a., 2558: 151.

would annihilate that of the Governor and of the Intendant." The administration of these islands is in the care of Religious whose Superiors receive dispensations, for example, of marriages as sent from Rome. This may be, and is, done; for the dispensations explicitly state that these islands do not belong to any diocese. It is better to leave the Religious in charge. No respectable priest would want to go "to these different countries for such a poor object as is a parish in America. Hence the bishop in those parts would have to admit undesirable subjects. For, it is useless to hope that the children of the French settlers will become priests, unless one wishes to see the good order which prevails today in the islands give way to the disorder prevalent in the Spanish possessions of America." [10]

Abbé Gervaise, however, finally succeeded in being consecrated with the title of Bishop of Oren (Oran) *in partibus*. His bulls gave him the title of Vicar-Apostolic and Commissary of the Holy See for all the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico; they gave him the right to exercise episcopal functions on the mainland and islands belonging to His Most Christian Majesty when called to exercise these functions. His consecration by the pope took place in June, 1726. De Maurepas, then Minister of the Navy, while he gave the new bishop permission to go to America, at the same time sent orders "not to allow him to perform any episcopal functions." The new bishop, although warned of this, went to Martinique in 1727. Naturally trouble ensued. He died in 1729.[11]

The proposal put forward by Gervaise of dividing the Diocese of Quebec, by the erection of an episcopal see in New Orleans, was opposed by Saint-Vallier, because, it is said, he was imbued with the Gallicanism then prevalent in the French hierarchy. The first step toward such a division would be to create an Apostolic-Vicariate. Vicars-Apostolic were thought to be much more attached to the interests of Rome than to those of the king. Hence the opposition of the French titular bishops, more anxious "to please the King first, and then the Pope." [12] The only reason given by de Mornay, who was as strong a Gallican as any, for the expulsion of the Carmelites from Louisiana in 1724, was precisely because these Religious had obtained directly from Rome the powers of Vicars-Apostolic: [13] "And I only let the Bishop of Quebec know about this when all was over," de Mornay was fond of saying when recalling his decision.[14] Rather than have his diocese divided, Saint-Vallier had asked that a coadjutor be appointed with the right of succession. Louis François de

[10] *Ibid.*, 152.
[11] *Ibid.*, 153.
[12] Têtu, H., *Les Evêques de Québec*, 146.
[13] AC., C 13A, 10: 35v.
[14] AC., F 5A, 3: 208.

Mornay was selected by the Court of France and consecrated Bishop of Eumenia in 1713. When Louisiana was farmed out to the Company of the Indies, de Mornay was put in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Mississippi Valley.

As time passed, Saint-Vallier began to worry about what would take place after his death. In 1726, he begged the Minister of the Navy to ask the Abbé of St. Aubin for a worthy priest who could be dean of the Diocese of Quebec and who "would merit to take my place which I shall soon give him, being seventy-three years old, for M. de Mornay, my Coadjutor, who is well over sixty and absent in France, will certainly not come and take my place when I am dead." [15]

If Saint-Vallier had long opposed any division of his diocese, he realized now that the immense territory of his bishopric could not be ruled from Quebec, much less from France. Accordingly, at about the same time when he wrote the letter just quoted, he sent to the Directors of the Company of the Indies letters of *officialis* and promoter to be given to the most worthy priests, secular or regular, who would be sent from France, adding that the noblest and most efficacious measure for the welfare of the Church in Louisiana would undoubtedly be "to create a new bishopric for that Colony *to which creation I would most gladly give my consent.*" [16]

This letter was communicated to de Mornay. The coadjutor thus answered Abbé Raguet, then on the Board of Directors of the Company of the Indies:

> I was surprised that he should give his consent to the creation of a bishopric, and more so that he should ask for a new bishop. I had proposed this to him once, and had said that the bishop who would go to Louisiana should establish a Seminary to educate the priests and accustom them to the country. He wrote me flatly that he would oppose any such division unless he were given some compensation as is done in France, that the Diocese of Quebec needed it. Today he is of a different opinion.[17]

Sending a bishop to Louisiana had been opposed by Saint-Vallier as well as by the Company of the Indies and the French Government. The memorials quoted above show that even if the Bishop of Quebec had agreed to the division of his diocese, officialdom was opposed to it, and Bishop Gervaise would not have been allowed to exercise his episcopal functions in Louisiana any more than he was allowed to exercise them in Martinique.

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[15] AC., C 11A, 48: 434.; cf. Gosselin, A. *L'Eglise du Canada depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la Conquête, Première Partie: Monseigneur de St. Vallier*, 424.

[16] AC., C 13A, 10: 26v.

[17] AC., C 13A, 10: 36.

Yet there was need of a bishop in Louisiana; a need which was felt and expressed by Father Raphael, the Capuchin Superior, at the end of 1726;[18] and earlier still by a layman, Drouot de Valdeterre, former Commandant of Dauphine Island.[19] Had these requests been granted, much friction in the early days of the Church in the colony would have been avoided.

On receiving the request of the Bishop of Quebec for help, the French Government placed the matter before de Mornay. After all, he had been appointed coadjutor to help Saint-Vallier, and his place was in his diocese. But rather than go to Canada, he handed in his resignation on March 15, 1728, asking that the pension of 3,000 *livres* which had been granted him in 1713, for as long as he would be coadjutor,[20] be continued to be paid.[21] This resignation, however, was invalid; for at the time it was made de Mornay was bishop of Quebec. Saint-Vallier had died on December 26, 1727, and, according to the Bulls of 1713, had been automatically succeeded by de Mornay, who gave the government to understand that he would go to Canada the following year (1729).[22] But de Mornay did not go. On April 19, 1729, the King wrote to Beauharnois and Hocquart: "The Bishop of Quebec is unable, owing to his advanced age and his infirmities, to go to Canada. His Majesty has appointed as coadjutor M. Dosquet, Bishop of Samos. . . . He is leaving this year for Quebec with the necessary powers[23] for governing his diocese."[24]

The duty of residence was of course primarily de Mornay's not Dosquet's. The latter soon found the climate and the hardships of Canada too much for his health.[25] De Mornay had apprehended as much;[26] and, from the attitude of the French Government in 1728, he knew that should Dosquet come back, he would either have to go to Quebec or resign his bishopric. Dosquet did not stay long, leaving Canada in 1732.[27] At the

[18] AC., C 13A, 10: 48v.

[19] AC., C 13A, 10: 11v., and Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, *Suède*, 83: n. 89.

[20] AC., B 51: 102.

[21] AC., B 51: 28v. This request was granted, cf. AC., B 51: 101v.

[22] AC., B 51: 47v.

[23] Arch. Propaganda Fide, *Atti*, 1729, July 19, f. 279; *ibid.*, 1729, Oct. 6. f. 466 ss.

[24] AC., B 53: 512; and cf. Gosselin, A., *op. cit.*, *Deuxième Partie*, 2.; Anonymous, *Mgr. de St. Vallier et l'Hôpital Général del Québec*, 291.

[25] Têtu, H., *op. cit.*, 180.

[26] De Mornay had asked that a gratuity of 3,000 *livres* be granted to Dosquet lest "il ne se dégouta de résider en Canada," and had ordered that the 2,000 *livres* annually subscribed by the Clergy for the Bishop be handed over to the Coadjutor, AC., B 54: 31v.-32.

[27] Têtu, H., *op cit.*, 167.

end of this year, there was neither bishop nor coadjutor in New France. The head of the diocese stretching from Quebec to New Orleans was in Paris, his assistant in Liége. This abnormal state of affairs was realized by the French Government: "I am writing today by order of the King to M. de Mornay," wrote de Maurepas to Dosquet on August 4, 1733, "in such a way that there will soon be some change."[28] The Minister's letter was in the nature of an ultimatum:

> The king has been willing to provide for the neglect in which you have always left your diocese in appointing M. Dosquet to be Coadjutor of Quebec, but you know that the health of this prelate and the state of his private affairs have forced him to return to France where it seems that he will have to stay for a long time. His Majesty is convinced that, deprived of this help, you will hesitate no longer to go to your diocese to take care of it, as it is your duty to do. His Majesty, informed of the pressing needs in which your diocese is of your visit has commanded that you go there without delay, and *since the state of ecclesiastical affairs of Louisiana requires your presence even more than that of Canada, His Majesty wishes that you should begin your visit with this Province, where no Bishop has ever been.* Once there with full knowledge of the cause of the trouble, you will be able to put an end to it. His Majesty is having a ship fitted out for that colony. It will be ready to sail from Rochefort toward the end of next month, and as His Majesty trusts that you will make use of this occasion, His orders will be given that you should find in this vessel all the comfort and dignity you could wish for. I beg you to let me know the measures you intend to take to obey the intentions of His Majesty in order to enable me to give him an account.[29]

Shortly after this curt letter reached the bishop, the news was given out in Paris that de Mornay had interdicted all the Jesuits in New Orleans and the surrounding country, although the bishop knew, or should have known, that in addition to the Jesuits there were then only four Capuchins in Louisiana. Thereupon, de Maurepas wrote a second letter even stronger than the first:

> You can easily imagine the unfortunate spiritual plight in which the civilian population and soldiers are, especially since you thought fit to interdict the Jesuits. . . . I am convinced that when you took the resolution to deprive the colony of the spiritual help afforded by the Jesuits you were unaware of the small number of the Capuchins.[30]

In any case de Mornay was ordered to be ready to sail on the *Somme* at the end of September and to take along with him at least six Capuchins.

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[28] AC., B 59: 483.

[29] AC., B 59: 482 (italics inserted). Part of this letter is printed in Têtu, *op cit.*, 166-167.

[30] AC., B 59: 483v-484.

The king now dealt directly with de Mornay. He repeated to the bishop that he was to sail for Louisiana on the *Somme*. De Mornay agreed to make use of this opportunity and took leave of His Majesty.[31] The Minister communicated the news to de Bienville and Salmon in Louisiana, recommending them to treat the coming bishop with all the respect due to his rank but also to see that "he meddles in nothing but what appertains to his office. This has been explained to him, and he promised to abide by it."[32] A week later, on September 15, de Maurepas wrote to the Intendant at Rochefort to have accomodations ready for de Mornay on the *Somme*,[33] but in both these letters the Minister expressed doubt whether the bishop would actually go to Louisiana. This was a shrewd guess on the part of de Maurepas; for on September 12, rather than go to his diocese, he resigned his bishopric in favor of Dosquet, his coadjutor. The news reached the Minister on September 16. Thanking the Abbé Couturier who had appraised him of it, he added: "It was high time that he should come to such a decision, since he did not want to go to his diocese."[34] The despatch to Rochefort was countermanded, merely saying that "the Bishop of Quebec has changed his mind,"[35] but to de Bienville and Salmon the following explanation was given: "His age and his health determined him to hand in his resignation. M. the Coadjutor [*Dosquet*] is at Liége, but I think he will be here [*Paris*] very soon, and that he will reestablish harmony between the Capuchins and the Jesuits, so that the colony will no longer lack the necessary spiritual help."[36]

Dosquet was not urged to go to Louisiana but to Quebec. Before leaving for Canada in 1734, he appointed as his vicar-general in France, Pierre de la Rue, Abbé de L'Isle Dieu, who retained this position until the end of the French regime.[37]

From 1733 until 1763, a final mention is made in the French Archives of affording episcopal jurisdiction for Louisiana, not, however, by creating a See distinct from that of Quebec, but by having the Bishop of Quebec come to Louisiana. It was in the middle of the Seven Years' War, after the fall of Louisbourg. Someone who foresaw that Canada was as good as lost to France, sent a *mémoire*[38] proposing the migration of all the French population of Canada — 60,000 people — to Louisiana. This *mémoire* appealed to de Choiseul who sent it to Silhouette, as to the man

[31] AC., B 59: 575. [33] AC., B 59: 575v. [35] AC., B 58: 187v.

[34] AC., B 58: 72v.—De Mornay "pour suppléer à mon absence" sent his portrait to the Canons of the Chapter of Quebec. Archives Arch. Quebec. *Ev. de Q.*, I, 17.

[35] AC., B 58: 193. [36] AC., B 59: 620.

[37] Archives Arch. Quebec. Letter sent, Mississippi. *Ev. de Q.*, B 310v-311v.

[38] AC., C 13A, 41: 419-423, and 424-427.

who was best able to judge the feasibility of the scheme, which might be useful "in case events would place us in a position, later on, to come to some new arrangements with regard to our possessions in the New World."[39]

In the first part of this petition a comparison is made between the products, climate, and the situation of both provinces of New France to the advantage of the southern one. In the second part of the scheme the objections to it are considered. The third objection reads thus: "The Jesuits, the Recollects, the Brothers of Charity, the Ursulines, the Grey Sisters, those of the Congregation, the Canons, finally the bishop, will bitterly complain."[40] His answer is the same as that given to the foreseen outcry of the landowners—if the English take Canada, "the clergy will be dealt with much more harshly that the settlers will." The writer then suggests the following arrangement: the Jesuits should go to the Illinois country, their plantation near New Orleans should be given to the Brothers, and another one given the Jesuits at Manchac, where the new Capital will be; the Recollects would go to New Orleans, the Ursulines of Quebec would stay with those of New Orleans, etc., etc. "As for the Bishop and the Canons, the King could provide for their sustenance by granting them a few benefices and helping them to establish themselves at Manchac," the new Capital.[41] The rest of the plan deals with the technical details for carrying out the scheme. What answer, if any, was given by Silhouette is not known.

A few years later (1763), the Mississippi Valley was divided between England and Spain, and the French rule came to an end without a bishop ever having set foot in Louisiana.

JOHN DELANGLEZ.

[39] AC., C 13A, 41: 428.
[40] AC., C 13A, 51: 425v.
[41] AC., C 13A, 41: 426.

II

THE PONTIFICATE OF POPE CLEMENT VIII (1592-1605)[1]

"He who enters the conclave as pope, will come out as cardinal." This Italian saying came true in the conclave from which Clement VIII proceeded as the successor of Peter. In all the secret and open transactions among the cardinals which may make a conclave look like an ordinary political election affair, it is the Holy Ghost Who appoints the next Head of the Church. Cardinal Santori, a prelate in every way worthy of the papal tiara, believed he was already as good as elected. In the early morning after the first night spent in the rooms of the conclave, Santori's party was ready to proclaim him pope by acclamation. But an opposition made up of sixteen cardinals refused to participate and forced a regular balloting which showed clearly that Santori had no chances ever to secure the required majority. The great dream of his life was irreparably shattered. But most edifying is his entry in his autobiography:

> The night which followed was more painful to me than any misfortune that I had ever endured, and the great grief and anguish of soul that I felt produced, incredible though it seems, a sweat of blood. But when in my sorrow I humbly turned to the Lord God, pondering how deceitful and wretched is all earthly happiness, and how true joy is only to be found in the contemplation of God, I felt myself freed from all disturbance and all human passion. I was further confirmed in this blessed exaltation of my spirit when, on the following morning, during holy Mass, I thanked God for His mercy to me, a poor sinner, and for all the favors that He had bestowed upon me. I also prayed for my enemies, who marvelled greatly when I sought to comfort my inconsolable friends.

Cardinal Santori proved himself a faithful servant of the new pope and placed his eminent talents unselfishly at the service of the Church under the direction of Clement VIII.

The new pontiff, though of the nobility, did not bring to the papal chair the renown of a great and ancient family — he himself had begun his life's task as a clerk in a Roman bank — but he was an experienced prince of the Church with a wide knowledge of the conditions and needs of the Catholic world and well acquainted with the practices of every kind of diplomacy, a man who sought unselfishly the true welfare of the flock of Christ, an indefatigable worker who did not spare himself whenever the

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[1] *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages.* Drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other original sources. From the German of Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr, of the London Oratory. Volumes XXIII and XXIV: Clement VIII (1592-1605). (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1933. Pp. xxxviii, 542; xx, 592).

interests of the Church called for special efforts. And Clement VIII's piety was that of a saint. Every day was begun with a lengthy morning devotion including his Mass, and was finished by a confession made to the Oratorian Cesare Baronius. At all times the pope took part in public religious functions. On special occasions, for instance when the danger of a Turkish invasion threatened, or before some important decision, special devotions, such as the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, were ordered, nobody participated more earnestly in them than the pope himself.

The greatest task before the new pope was no doubt the settling of the affairs of France. Henry of Bourbon, claimant to the crown, had several times abjured Calvinism and several times returned to it. He was opposed by a league of Catholic grandees, while at the same time prominent Catholic noblemen were members of his own party. Philip II, King of Spain, sided with the league, whose victory would, so he calculated, not only be the defeat of heresy in France but also an increase of Spain's influence in European politics. Several of the previous popes, too, had assisted the league with money and soldiers. What was Clement VIII going to do? For some time he followed the policy of supporting the league. But when Henry Bourbon's star began to rise, when the power of the league dwindled more and more, and when Henry, seeing that his own Catholic friends demanded a serious change of his attitude, made the best promises of a Catholic administration and of his own conversion, the pope began to relax and entered into private negotiations with him. The French bishops did not await the result of these transactions. On July 25, 1593, they received his abjuration of Calvinism and absolved Henry from excommunication, reserving the confirmation of their act by the Holy See.

After his abjuration, although Henry showed in his political actions that he was resolved to treat Catholic affairs in a Catholic manner, Clement VIII still refused to receive his envoys officially. One of the conditions finally demanded by the pope — the official acceptance and promulgation of the Tridentine decrees — was bound to meet the resistance of the Gallican bishops and clergy of France. In fact the refusal on the part of the pope to treat with Henry strengthened the anti-Roman tendency of many French ecclesiastics who did not hesitate to suggest a special patriarch for France. It was this consideration, too, which strongly prompted Clement VIII to incline toward a reconciliation with the Bourbon prince. The obstacles were still many and great. Spain tried everything, from the direst threats to the lowest intrigues, to obstruct the pope's endeavors. But with commendable singleness of purpose, having in view nothing but the welfare of France and of the Church at large, after many prayers and solemn and private supplications, Clement VIII

took the step which gave to France ecclesiastical peace on a solid foundation. On September 17, 1595, in a solemn assembly in St. Peter's, the elaborate ceremony took place of Henry's absolution, and for the first time the pontiff styled him "The Most Christian King of France and Navarre."

France badly needed a religious reform. The material devastations caused by the Huguenot wars were terrible, but not the worst of the evils. Seven of the fourteen archbishopries and almost forty of the one hundred bishopries were vacant; and many of the actual bishops had been intruded into their dioceses illegally and were leading the life of secular noblemen. In wide territories the morality of the clergy, secular and regular, was deplorable. In the older religious Orders the abominable custom of abbots *in commendam* (lay abbots) had worked enormous evil. A change soon began to appear. A brilliant galaxy of new bishops, an ever increasing army of zealous and saintly priests and Religious, appear in the field, through whom was literally renewed the face of Catholic France. The improvement came not without the active coöperation of the Most Christian King, though in many important points he failed to live up to his promises and so caused much annoyance to the pope.

The jealousy of Spain and of its sovereign, Philip II, was one of the obstacles to the absolution of Henry IV of France. Spain was in alliance with the French league and at war with Henry of Bourbon. Clement VIII did all he could to demonstrate that if he received Henry back into the Church, it was not on account of any aversion to Spain. Nevertheless, Philip II felt it as a blow against himself. Actually it had the result of weakening considerably the power and influence of the Spaniards in Rome. Philip II so far, in many questions, had almost dictated to pope and cardinals what attitude to take. To the best interest of the Church at large this policy was now at an end.

The pope was, however, forced to wage a constant war against the Spanish monarch's Cesaro-papism which indeed in many points closely resembled Gallicanism, and he was by no means satisfied with the results. Especially were the Spanish Governors of Naples and Milan guilty of much violent interference with canon law and the rights of the sovereign pontiff. The pope had serious complaints also against the Spanish Inquisition. His constant endeavors, however, to bring about peace between France and Spain were finally crowned with success. He prized this fact very highly because it promised to bring nearer to completion his lifelong dream of a common enterprise of Christianity against the common foe, the Turk, whose attitude was becoming more and more alarming.

Like his great predecessors, in particular Saint Pius V and Gregory XIII, Clement VIII worked indefatigably for a general reform of the Church.

While the great ecclesiastical interests in France and Spain seemed to absorb all his attention, the eye of the supreme shepherd did not lose sight of any of the smaller portions of his worldwide flock. His nuncios, to whom fell the practical part of this endeavor, were all picked men, inspired with the zeal of their master. Their work was supplemented by special envoys dispatched to cities and provinces and kingdoms. The pope eagerly studied their reports and kept in touch with them by a brisk correspondence. No bishop or abbot fulfilled his duty conscientiously, no secular ruler supported the work of the reform, but received a papal letter of praise and encouragement, a distinction shared by cities and little towns alike. Letters urging the enforcement of the Tridentine decrees and threatening canonical penalties in case of neglect went out unceasingly to those who were remiss in this duty. Though the pope did not succeed in all cases — his elaborate attempt, for example, to regain Scandinavia was a complete failure — he had the joy of seeing the return to the faith of many lost districts and the vigorous revival of religious life in countless others. This was in particular the case in Germany, where many of the institutions founded by Gregory XIII were now beginning to bear ample fruit. The Dukes of Bavaria and the Archdukes of Austria excelled by their zeal in the promotion of Catholic reform.

A highwater mark in this grand flood of Catholic revival was the celebration of the Jubilee of the year 1600. Extensive preparations had been made in repairing roads and bridges and in providing provisions and lodging accommodations. Apparently, the 1,200,000 pilgrims were becomingly taken care of, and it was chiefly Roman charity that accomplished this enormous task. The hospice of the Trinità de' Pellegrini alone gave food and shelter to half-a-million pilgrims. Among the priests none was more zealous and indefatigable than the supreme highpriest himself. Protestants who had come to see how the pope was raking in money, were dumbfounded when they saw how everybody in Rome, Clement VIII above all, was spending heavy sums for the benefit of the pilgrims.

Shortly before the solemn opening of the Jubilee the Eternal City was stirred by the news that the remains of the virgin-martyr Cecilia had been discovered in the church named after that saint. The body, covered with a costly gold-embroidered dress, lay in the casket of cyprus wood, in which it had been placed by Pope Paschal I in the year 821. The on-lookers, including the pope, were so struck with awe that none ventured to touch the veil which was thrown over the whole figure. For several weeks all Rome went to admire the majesty of the virgin and martyr, so suddenly brought near to them from a distance of centuries.

It was hardly possible for any pope to carry out more literally the word of St. Paul: "I am the debtor of all." While his searching eyes beheld the needs of the nations of the world, his attention was also given

to the city of Rome. A thorough canonical visitation was ordered of all the churches, beginning from St. Peter's down to the smallest house of prayer. All the institutions of piety and charity and all the houses of the Religious were examined. In many cases the Bishop of Rome appeared personally and not rarely unexpectedly in some church or convent or college, bestowing praise on what he found to be good and not mincing words when things were wrong.

In his general care for the reformation of all classes of faithful the Religious claimed a great share of his endeavors and those of his legates. His legate, Della Torre, succeeded in uniting the Benedictine abbeys of Switzerland into a particular Congregation and to revive the Benedictine Congregation of Suabia. With incredible difficulty but very efficiently Cardinal de Vaudemont restored the Benedictine abbeys of French Lorraine to their original fervor and formed of them and others two flourishing Congregations. These successes are instructive to show that the Church has the power of reform within herself and is able to regain her vigor instead of succumbing to external or internal obstacles. In like manner the other Religious bodies, if necessary, were taken care of, and both the older establishments and the younger organizations found in Pope Clement VIII an ardent promoter and protector.

As already indicated, Clement VIII like his predecessors conducted a very considerable part of his pastoral office through the activity of his nuncios, whose number he increased, and by his numerous special envoys, who were travelling all over Europe to carry out his plans of reform. His extreme care in appointing cardinals resulted in a splendid assemblage of men conspicuous for piety, learning, and general ability. The corporate influence, however, of this body naturally decreased in the same degree as the amount of business which was now settled by the newly established cardinalitial Congregations grew in extent and importance.

During Clement's pontificate the Jesuits played a large part, and not entirely according to their liking. Indeed, countless papal letters went out to princes and peoples and ecclesiastics in praise of their indefatigable labors. But the pope had his doubts about their organization and teaching. Members of the Society, backed powerfully by King Philip II of Spain, objected to lifelong incumbency of the Father General and to several other points. Above all the divergence between the new Society of Jesus and the venerable Order of St. Dominic concerning the doctrine on grace called for a decision, which was eagerly expected by Protestants and Catholics. Pastor's treatment of the end of these intrigues and of the attitude finally taken by Clement VIII in the controversy on grace makes interesting and thrilling reading. The Jesuits had also become involved in the affairs of England, where Elizabeth was displaying the cunning devices of her last years. The first Stuart king had endeavored to gain

the support of the Catholics for his succession by liberal promises which he never meant to keep. The persecuted Catholics themselves were split into two hostile camps, and Elizabeth even tried to enlist the pope's assistance against one part of her Catholic subjects.

Ever mindful of his position as champion of Christian civilization, Clement VIII followed in the footsteps of his great predecessors by promoting with everything in his power the war against the growing influence of the Turk. He met with little success on account of the jealousy between Spain and France, the selfishly commercial views of Venice, the almost general apathy of the Christian states, and last but not least the incredible stolidity of the Emperor Rudolph II. Once the pope with the assistance of several Italian princes equipped a small army which he sent to Hungary. For a short time this helped to stir up the parties immediately threatened, the Hungarians, Transylvanians and others, to a more active resistance and gained some small advantages. But the army had to be disbanded on account of the lack of coöperation.

Nothing is more surprising than that this man who led so prayerful a life and exercised such astounding works of penance should have been subject to the weakness of nepotism. It can perhaps be forgiven if he raised two of his nephews to the cardinalate, because both were worthy and able men; but it is less pardonable that he enriched them with large sums of money beside the revenues they drew, and that his secular relatives were similarly favored with offices and wealth. However, none of them led a scandalous life, nor did their uncle proceed so far as to establish, after the example of several of his predecessors, a new principality for them. The two cardinals, besides, spent their treasures largely on the promotion of arts and literature. Like most of the papal families of this period, that of the Aldobrandini was of short duration, the last of its male representatives dying in 1637.

In spite of this weakness Clement VIII is a great figure among the successors of St. Peter. His personal piety places him almost among the saints. As a diplomat he was extremely wary and careful, preferring to reach a goal by small steps rather than by sudden violent actions. With unalterable single-mindedness he strove for the welfare of the Church under all circumstances, and was at the same time guided by a strict sense of justice toward all concerned. His reform activity was a lifelong activity. The perusal of this biography produces the impression of one who stands upon the watchtower of the universe, noticing with keen eye the needs of the Old World and the New, conscious of his duty toward all men and all nations.

His great pontificate was doomed to a long oblivion, due to the timid policy of his relations in not permitting access to the *acta* of his govern-

ment. These documents were finally returned to the papal archives, which Leo XIII threw open to the scholars of the world, thus making possible the production of works like Dr. Ludwig von Pastor's *History of the Popes*. The German original of this gigantic work, covering the period of 1300 to 1800, is finished. It is greatly to be deplored that the English translation proceeds very slowly, having reached, by the present volumes, no farther than the year 1605.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN.

BOOK REVIEWS

Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages. By WILLIAM E. LUNT. 2 vols. [*Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies*, Austin P. Evans, ed., no. 29.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 341; iv, 665. $12.50.)

With diligence and discretion, Professor Lunt has collected 581 extracts from papers in the papal archives to illustrate an introductory survey of the history of papal revenues. His selections range from provisions in the Justinian Code about clerical ordination gifts to a receipt for moneys transmitted by the Fuggers to the papal treasury for indulgences granted in Poland and Silesia. Needless to say, these volumes meet a long-felt want. That the papal financial machine was of the utmost importance in the economic and political as well as social life of medieval Europe has long been recognized. We have now both a detailed analysis of this organization and the illustrative material to support and to illustrate that analysis. It is to be hoped that Professor Lunt will presently bring out a work paralleling this on the disbursement of papal revenues. In these volumes, too, financial history becomes very human. Thus, Nicholas V in 1290 assigns two pack animals to his reader in theology for the transport of the latter's books when he accompanies the pope on his journeys (I, 144). Benedict XI in 1304 wonders excessively why his "venerable brothers," the archbishops, bishops, abbots, etc., of England, who were once most prompt in the payment of Peter's Pence, no longer meet the obligation fairly, but put forth many excuses and appeal to processes (I, 194). Notwithstanding the round abuse heaped by Matthew Paris upon "certain most wicked usurers, who call themselves merchants, cloaking usury under the business of banking," the papacy is shown to have been not long learning that these merchant-bankers could afford to it great advantages in the transmission of its revenues (I, 301 *et seq.*). The Crusades called forth many new fiscal devices and necessitated numerous adjustments in papal methods. Even fraudulent agents appeared (II, 492-494). There is also a memorandum, dated 1492, expediting the bulls of provision to the bishopric of Gardar, "located at the end of the world, in the land of Greenland," where people eat "dry fish and milk" and where on account of the "intense freezings of the waters, no ship is believed to have been brought to land in eighty years. . . ." One is tempted to indicate many other items.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Pennsylvania State College.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth. By W. K. JORDAN, Ph. D. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. 490. $5.00.)

It is difficult to follow the evolution of ideas from their inarticulate stage through various forms of expression. More particularly is it difficult to estimate and assay the situations out of which ideas have developed. Doctor Jordan has attempted such a task in reviewing English thought on the matter of religious toleration during the reign of Elizabeth. And though his quest took him into widely divergent groups he has detected a striking conformity of thought amongst them. Political or economic expediency may have heightened the desires of the government for a pact with the struggling minorities, and these latter may have been drawn by their adversities to visualize a time when the control of the government over their beliefs and religious practices might be withdrawn. Whatever the motive, we find in the orderly treatment given the writings of political or religious figures such as Elizabeth, Burleigh, Acontius, Hooker, Robert Browne, Persons, and Cardinal Allen similarities of expression that make one wonder at the gap between theory and practice.

"The Puritan intelligence was repelled by the tolerant and comprehensive philosophy of the Elizabethan Settlement" (p. 259). "Browne in his *Treatise of Reformation* came close to the enunciation of a theory of toleration" (p. 266), but "the inheritance of Calvinism was too heavy in the Brownist system immediately to eliminate the vision of a world which should be order by and for the elect of God" (p. 292). Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* "is not as important for the history of religious toleration as it is for the history of Political Theory. . . . In fact its importance in the evolution of religious toleration has probably been overemphasized" (p. 222). At least a suspicion might be aroused as to the sincerity of Burleigh's *Execution of Justice in England.* "Perhaps the most significant thing about the treatise is the fact that it was felt to be necessary." The publication of it was a "tacit admission that the government recognized the existence of a considerable body of opinion opposed to religious repression." The essence of Persons' argument was that conscience may not be compelled (p. 387) but the sincerity of Persons is questioned (pp. 390-391). Cardinal Allen in his *True, Sincere, and modest Defense,* "showed a considerable advance beyond the views of Persons" (p. 395) but "Catholic thought, the most consistently intolerant of the period" (p. 402), "made no important contributions to the development of the theory of toleration" (p. 419).

From these quotations one might readily expect Doctor Jordan's conclusions to be negative in character. It is unfortunate that there has been

no general summing-up of his findings. The last pages of the book are given to an analysis of Roman Catholic thought, and in a somewhat dubious frame of mind the casual reader might finish the book. But where he deals with lay-thought — even Catholic lay-thought — the writer indicates one department where not merely theoretical but practical toleration might be discovered. Acontius writes the foremost philosophical and religious justification of religious liberty. "His book was not equalled before the appearance of Locke's *Letters*, if indeed then" (p. 363). An exact estimate of the disposition of men and women to be tolerant might be found not alone in the writings, not alone in the suspension of penal laws, but from the disposition of thousands of loyal souls who suffered fines, restrictions, inquisitions and exile even to apply the theory of Acontius and to see in their persecutor a brother in Christ. On this basis considerably more credit must be given the Catholic populace of England in the days of Elizabeth for their loyalty in the face of injustice.

JAMES L. CONNOLLY.

The St. Paul Seminary.

Queen Elizabeth. By J. E. NEALE. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1934. Pp. 402.)

"Gloriana," who has so often been portrayed of late without her aureole or even her wig, without a conscience or a will of her own or even a sound mind, has found a new defender. Professor Neale, of University College, London, writing on the basis of many years of study, in a very readable book addressed to the broad public, attempts what is essentially a rehabilitation of the Good Queen Bess of Protestant tradition.

With all regard for the author's learning and skill in presentation, it is disappointing to find once more so one-sided an interpretation of a great queen and a great period. Elizabeth's manifold faults and weaknesses are ignored or at least half-apologized for, while nothing that can be said to her credit is overlooked or understated. By the same token, nothing is too harsh to be said of Mary Stuart, whose great mistake was that she did not trust Elizabeth's "genuine friendliness" (p. 158)(!). When Mary Tudor put Protestant rebels to death after Wyatt's rebellion, it was an "awful butchery." When Elizabeth put a far greater number of Catholics to death after the Northern rising, that was "stern justice." The Marian persecution of Protestants is called a "dreadful holocaust," but when it was the turn of the Catholics to suffer we are told that "Elizabeth persecuted—if that word must be used—in the name of patriotism" (pp. 37, 44, 186, 250). There is not a word, of course, about the precise nature of the hideous punishment inflicted upon the Catholic martyrs, beside which burning at the stake would have seemed mild (we are told

that "The Spirit of Pity hovers over the victims, but Justice also has its place!" p. 248). Not a word about the atrocities of Elizabeth's grand inquisitor, Topcliffe, whose infamies would not have been possible without the complicity of the "humane" Queen. Not a word of the truly dreadful holocaust which this reign brought to the Irish people. Above all, when will any non-Catholic English historian begin to realize the enormity of the fact that during this reign the English people, at the outset still overwhelmingly Catholic in faith and sentiment, were by force and guile robbed of their religion and made to submit to a new, artificial religion imposed on them, almost entirely for political and selfish reasons, by the small clique of people entrenched in power?

R. H. LORD.

Brighton Seminary.

Charles the First, King of England. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1933. Pp. 367. $4.00.)

On January 30, 1649, Charles the First, King of England, was beheaded, and his death completed the passing of real rule from the hands of monarchs in England to the hands of others. This last stage in the decline of real monarchy and its ensuing death are described in this book bearing the sole title, *Charles the First, King of England.* On the first page, however, the reader learns the significance of the title when he reads: "How and why did English kingship so fail in the person of its last possessor, Charles Stuart? That is the problem approached in this book." The others into whose hands the real power passed were the wealthier classes.

But not thus simply, the power of money versus the power of king, runs the absorbing narrative in which it is told how the puny grandson of Mary of Scotland was nursed to something more than viability by Lady Carey; how at the age of twelve he was destined to become the King of England; next "in those very early years was compelled, almost against himself, to consider in private what remedy he could find for his defects"; and in twelve years more, at the age of twenty-four, was raised to the throne of England, tottering in a welter of greed, pillage, bigotry, fanaticism, incompetence, new economic conditions, broadening of political and legal outlooks, and cavalierism. These forces swirled around the throne. They are the factors which when properly equated solve the problem.

The odds were against Charles. The one factor which would have cancelled many factors on the other side was money. Charles did not have sufficient money. When the crisis came and the Great Rebellion was on, the queen, Henrietta Maria, "worked with feverish industry for the King in the Low Countries, raising money on jewels, buying munitions and

guns." He also had to depend upon the adherents of an outlawed religion as in the case of the Marquess of Worcester, "who handed over his whole revenue to the Royal cause." Then, for fifty years before Charles came into power "the Crown was decaying financially." Accordingly even if Charles were of really kingly stuff beyond his lineage and something more than the blundering, stodgy person that he was, he would have had the same struggle to maintain the rights of the Crown, and in all probability have come, but with more glory, to the block. For both Buckingham and Strafford, far superior to Charles, were victims of the same forces that had finally combined to put an end to absolute monarchy.

It requires no astuteness to understand that the author is proving a thesis. Nor does one need to rake up the author's literary history to show that this latest biography by Mr. Belloc is not solely a biography, but another finely wrought argument for his pet political theory. In the third paragraph of this persuasive book Mr. Belloc gives reader and critic an even start where he states that "Today all Christendom is hungry for monarchy. In the United States partly by the provision of the Constitution, more by its development in the nineteenth century, the principle of an executive in the hands of one man was preserved. But in Europe it was gradually lost, and replaced by the rule of a few; in practice, of the rich, under the guise of representatives. That experiment is breaking down before our eyes and monarchy is returning."

In the background of this struggle to abolish real monarchy "was something too often forgotten; the example of the Seven Dutch provinces." Their rich merchants and territorial lords had successfully resisted monarchy in the person of Philip the Second. In this connection the author does no more than point out the parallel that runs close through the story. This failure to appreciate the trend of revolutionary ideas is as faulty as it is to exaggerate the religious quarrel of Charles' time. "We must remember throughout that the danger to history in all this affair is the exaggeration of the religious quarrel. Not to give it its full weight would be to write bad history indeed, for it played a very large part; but it was not the main driving force behind the whole movement. The main driving force behind the whole movement was the desire, already in part deliberate but still largely instinctive, of the gentry to supplant the King." The English gentry were as successful as the Dutch merchants and brought about the aristocratic system. Though this system today is breaking down, "England is still the one aristocratic state in a Europe everywhere else egaltarian."

Inevitably when a change of polity is brought about there arises a man who becomes either the hero or the villian of the political drama. In his last chapter, "The Killing of the King," the author writes: "Men in the

plural, especially men in great numbers, even men corporate, cannot carry out a plan from stage to stage with precision; such action is not possible to acephalous mankind—and that is why Cabinets bungle war. Here, in the killing of Charles Stuart, was a plan carried out most carefully over many months, step after step after step: . . . there is one will and plan behind it all, and they belittle Oliver Cromwell who think to do his memory a favor by pleading his reluctance or his ignorance." Supporting this statement on Cromwell are an analysis and insight which by themselves show why this book should be published. This last chapter in the life of Charles Stuart fitly concludes a brilliant book wherein the author's restraint—and he is quite restrained in writing of the characters—and his study of the economic forces have produced a fine explanation of the human phenomenon of men and their leaders going on improvidently to a crisis which looks so terrible in retrospect.

THOMAS J. MCGOURTY.

Catholic University of America.

A History of Modern Culture. Vol. II: *The Enlightenment, 1687-1776.* By PRESERVED SMITH. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1934. Pp. vii, 703. $5.00.)

In general what was said by the present reviewer of the first volume of this History (CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI, 1930, pp. 350-352) would apply to the second volume. The thesis again is: "Not faith but doubt has liberated and humanized the modern world." Again Dr. Smith arranges in plausible order an enormous mass of detail. Again he displays his erudition, and his naïveté. Again he writes in a style that is always entertaining, and always commonplace.

If his forte is his ability to generalize, his foible is omniscience. One could hardly expect a writer who deals with so many disparate matters to succeed in avoiding all error. What is rather disturbing is the kind of error made. For instance, Casanova is repeatedly referred to, and is correctly considered a man very typical of the period. Yet his Memoirs are called (p. 544) a diary. Swift, in the same way, is frequently cited. Yet *The Battle of the Books* is called (p. 231) "a satirical poem." On page 327 we are told that "*Absolom and Achitophel* (1681) describes, in a transparent disguise, Monmouth's rebellion." That rebellion did not occur until 1685. The date 1681 was that of Shaftesbury's trial for high treason. And on page 634 in the chapter on music Dr. Smith tells us: "The ancestors of the piano were the clavecin, the clavichord, clavicembalo, and the harpsichord, all played with piano-like keyboards but all sounding by strings plucked by a plectrum instead of struck by a hammer." Apparently Dr. Smith does not know that "clavecin" is French, and

"clavicembalo" Italian for "harpsichord," or that the strings of the clavichord were not plucked, but struck by tangents. The looseness and vagueness which leads to inaccuracy in minor matters, causes gross misstatements elsewhere. We may shrug our shoulders over a phrase such as "the trumpery rites and superstitions of the church" (p. 503) as indicating merely that ingrained prejudice from which even scholars are not always free. But no scholar (whatever his prejudices) should have permitted himself to perpetrate so crude a judgment upon the Jesuits (p. 473) as the following: "While still admired for the adroitness of its policy, this society was ever more and more severely censured for the laxity of its morals." For in the very next page he shows that he had in mind not the morals of the Jesuits but certain propositions in moral theology which found defenders among Jesuit doctors. Moreover, he is far from making it clear that he is conversant with the questions at issue. Only downright ignorance can acquit him of downright dishonesty in interpolating, as he does on page 601, the sentence I italicise in the passage quoted:

> In fashionable society neither men nor women demanded faithfulness of their partners. A French amorist, named Letorière, very popular with the ladies, sent a circular letter making successive appointments with them, and was actually accepted by many of them on these terms. The laws no longer punished adultery. *Jesuit preachers disparaged mortification of the flesh and exalted love.* Peter Annet defended prostitution as a moral, and Mandeville excused it as a socially useful, institution.

Surely here we are obliged to pass upon Dr. Smith the same sentence that he passed (p. 144) upon Condorcet: "He sacrificed something of austere accuracy to rhetorical effect." It is curious that a man who expresses, in his chapter on Historiography, so just an appreciation of the Benedictines of St. Maur, is himself so careless in his use of historical instruments, so rash in his conclusions.

Though things like these make us view with suspicion nearly everything that Dr. Smith says, it must be admitted that his powers for synthesis and exposition are considerable. But these powers make him all the more dangerous to those who will not take the trouble to check his statements. In his own field, as when dealing with the Encyclopaedists and the Deists of the Eighteenth Century, he is generally well informed, though one gasps a little at the familiarity with which he refers to "Ben" Franklin. Personally I should have preferred to this a greater evidence of familiarity with Franklin's works. And it is rather odd that Gibbon should not have been treated more fully. But scrappiness is a prevailing fault in these pages. Even the bibliography indicates that, while Dr. Smith's reading has been extensive, there are a great many things he should have read before writing *The History of Modern Culture*. If he had read them,

however, he probably would not have found time to write his book, as he certainly would not have written it in its present form.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

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The Explorers of North America, 1492-1803. By JOHN BARTLETT BREBNER, M. A., Ph. D. [The Pioneer Histories.] (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xv, 502. $3.50.)

Very fascinating, because so close to us and so well written, is the narrative unfolded by Dr. Brebner. It is a swift-moving and charming pageant, covering three centuries of stirring adventure along the ever-changing coasts and in the multiform interior of the North American continent, beginning with the voyages of Columbus that revealed a new world to Europe and closing with the threefold response to Russia's menace on the North Pacific Coast; *viz.*, the Spanish entry from Mexico into California, the French and English march westward across Canada, and the "American" trek across the United States. "Unless mankind is to embark some day on interplanetary exploration, there can never again be a geographical adventure like the discovery and exploration of the Americas" (p. 3). Thus the author opens his story of this "geographical adventure." It is a long and sometimes tedious story. Hence to embody it in a single volume adequately and at the same time entertainingly was a real achievement, aside from the fact that so tremendous amount of source material had to be handled in telling the story.

Dr. Brebner's narrative is by no means a dry recital of names and dates or a lifeless record of routes and distances. Scattered throughout are discerning observations on motives and methods, discriminating appraisals of men in the thick of action, pleasing incidents with a human interest, striking combination of related facts. Very judiciously the author says: "It seems very doubtful whether Spain would have attempted the costly and on the whole vain enterprise of occupying that territory [of Florida] had it not been for protection of the Bahama Channel" (p. 103). Again he writes: "It is not entirely an accidental coincidence that in 1543 a lull in exploration descended simultaneously on the Spanish territories of southern North America and on the French lands in the St. Lawrence." Both had looked for a waterway across the continent and failed to find it. Hence "For the moment the 'northern mystery' of New Spain and the 'southern mystery' of New France had descended into the same limbo of hopes deferred" (pp. 134-135). Dr. Brebner does not hold that Cortes's conquest of Mexico was a "ruthless massacre of helpless primitives, but a not unequal contest between a military genius . . . and a

professionally trained military empire . . ." (pp. 43-44). "The chief greatness of Cortes," he believes, "lay in his uncanny ability to measure the growing dimensions of his own prestige and the increasing fatalistic resignation in the heart of Montezuma" (p. 47). Again he writes: "It must be admitted that La Salle's ideas were usually in advance of his times or at least of the resources available to execute them. . . . He had an incurable way of building superstructures before foundations were set. . . . Finally, he developed a proud melancholic stubbornness which brought him so close to insanity as to seem insane to some of his contemporaries and modern recorders" (p. 297). Near the headwaters of the Missouri *voyageurs* of Verendrye met a Mandan Indian who had "been brought up from childhood among whites." The *voyageurs* "did not understand the language of the white men which he [the Indian] spoke, but he wore a crucifix around his neck and, in the course of several conversations, he drew a convincing picture of what must have been life in the Spanish colonies" (p. 369). When the French under Cartier in 1535 reached Hochelaga (Montreal), "the inhabitants gave them the warmest possible welcome and, like Vaca's hosts that same year far away in the south-west, brought their sick to be healed" (p. 124). We read how the first missionaries in Canada were told by the Hurons to "bring women and children, and when they come to these regions we shall see how you serve this God who you worship. Champlain," the author adds, "thought that this was 'natural good sense'" (p. 167). Regarding the murder of La Salle by his own men, the author says: "It was a stupid thing to do, but men of small intelligence like La Salle's murderers do stupid things when fear and bewilderment overcome them. Wiser, less egoistical leaders than La Salle know this and how to counter it. Hudson at one end of the continent and La Salle at the other paid the same price for the same lack in qualities of leadership" (p. 327). Again, Alexander Mackenzie "and his party were downcast at not having reached the Pacific and being shut in by ice from a seaway to it. On July 14, 1789, while the Paris mob stormed the Bastille, he set up a record post on Whale Island in the Arctic Ocean" (p. 446). The same dauntless explorer "and his *voyageurs* were the lineal heirs of two lines of explorers—the sixteenth and seventeenth-century mariners who tried to sail to the Pacific by the north, and the followers of Champlain who set out in canoes. The North-West Passage had been made, but it was the North-West Passage 'by land'" (p. 456). Observations like these—and the volume teems with them—lend the narrative a unique charm.

An interesting feature of the story is the attention its author gives to the problem of the so-called Northern Mystery. Dr. Brebner recognizes as "a sort of chronic underlying factor in pioneer North American exploration." (p. 347) and as partly a cause for later intercolonial rivalry

and conflict in North America (p. 192), the project of finding a waterway across the Continent to the Pacific. Particularly interesting to the present reviewer is the statement that "Soto had in the back of his mind the persistent hope of finding a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific," and that "in his wanderings Soto gave evidence of his conviction that in the north-west he would find a water-passage which would somehow link up the Pacific with either the Gulf of Mexico or the Atlantic" (pp. 77-78). Simultaneously, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Frenchmen were dreaming the same dream; and a century later "a daring Englishman and a French missionary at Quebec played with the same idea, while far to the south in the Spanish colonies restless men still wondered whether their predecessors by land and sea had not missed those Straits of Anian which led back to the Atlantic" (pp. 192-195).

With fine appreciation the author points also to the spiritual motives that prompted particularly the Spaniards in their New World enterprises. "Much of the animating force of Spanish achievements in North America will be missed," he writes, "if one forgets that Spaniards were crusaders for souls" (p. 45). Elsewhere he says: "The chief, and on the whole vain, incentive to further enterprise [in our Southwest] came from the missionary fervor which was at the same time carrying French missionaries from the Atlantic to Hudson Bay and the Mississippi and Spanish missionaries into the south-eastern corner of the continent" (p 323). As to the French in Canada, "the simple record of their acts," he writes, "uncolored by any speculations about motives, is the proof that not one, but several, of the early Canadian missionaries literally counted no cost too high to be paid for the mere chance to tell the tidings of salvation" (p. 167). This is writing our history scientifically and impartially, the only kind of writing worthy of a scholar.

As might be expected in a volume unfolding so vast and sometimes so complicated a theme there are several points of more or less importance to which the reviewer desires to call attention. The slave raids referred to at page 32 were made on behalf of Matienzo, not Ayllon. It was not greed for personal profit, as suggested at page 99, but honest solicitude for the social and economic welfare of the natives that these were compelled by the Spanish missionaries to engage in agricultural and other pursuits. Gabriel Sagard Theodat, the historian of Canada, was not, as is stated consistently in the eleventh chapter, a priest, but a lay-brother, of the Franciscan Order. Brother is therefore the correct title, that of Father being reserved for priests. In this connection it might also be noted that the term "Recollects" is unintelligible to the ordinary reader who does not know that the French "Recollects" were Franciscans. The former term being now obsolete, having been abolished in 1897, it would be better to use the term Franciscan throughout when speaking of mis-

sionaries who belonged to the Franciscan Order. There is nothing on record to show that Father Dablon persuaded "at least Talon to allow Father Marquette to go along as chaplain and Christian spokesman" (p. 253) with Jolliet in 1673. Not even Talon, to judge from the state of affairs at the time, would have consented to this; while the complete understanding between Talon and Frontenac, the newly appointed governor, as well as the subsequent silence of Frontenac regarding Marquette seems to show plainly that neither of these civil officials even knew that Marquette had accompanied Jolliet. (If the reviewer may be pardoned, the initials before his name in the footnote at page 253 should be F. B., not L. F. It might be mentioned here also that he has written and published a detailed reply to Father Garraghan's critique of *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*. Copies of the reprint of this reply are still available.) The author's statement at page 323 regarding Maria de Agreda is out of harmony with the known facts. Whatever explanation one accepts for her "visits" and activities among the Jumanos Indians, the nun was certainly not a fraud. Not only "Indian hostility and climatic conditions" but also and principally the French menace on the gulf coast around Pensacola Bay "brought about the abandonment of the eastern Texas missions" (p. 332) in 1694. The missions of Lower California were not handed over to the Franciscans by the Jesuits, as stated at page 409, but they were practically forced on the Franciscans by the civil government of Mexico. For the expedition of the Spaniards into Upper California (p. 412) the author might have used to better advantage the interesting and authentic Diary of Junípero Serra.

A commendable feature of Dr. Brebner's volume are the lists of narratives with occasional bibliographical notes that follow each chapter. Valuable, too, and splendid aids in following the story of exploration are the four inserted maps. To sum up, despite the few errors and inaccuracies pointed out, Dr. Brebner has added to our shelves of Americana a really worth-while book and with the touch of an artist had succeeded admirably "in shewing," to quote from his Foreword, "why men explored, where and when they went, and who promoted and supported the expeditions."

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M.

Catholic University of America.

Five Fur Traders of the Northwest: Being the Narrative of Peter Pond, and the Diaries of John Macdonnell, Archibald N. McLeod, Hugh Faries, and Thomas Connor. Edited by CHARLES M. GATES. With an introduction by Grace Lee Nute. (Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America: The University of Minnesota Press. 1933. Pp. $3.50.)

The story of the fur trade in America forms a distinct and now long completed chapter in the history of our continent. *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* deals with the epoch when that adventurous field of trade had passed out of the hands of the French in North America and, as far as the northern part of our continent is concerned, had entered completely under British domination. It is not a dissertation on nor a study of the trade—a number of these, of an authoritative tone, have already been written—but, to a major extent, a day by day account from the awkwardly manipulated contemporary pens of five men actively engaged in the trade in mid-western Canada and northern Minnesota. The diaries run, roughly, from 1793 to 1805, and in them we hear the voices of the traders and trappers themselves as they echo in the forests and on the prairies and in the canoes of that vast western region filled with fur-bearing beasts and skilful red hunters. The archaic speech and the quaint spelling, as they appeared in the original manuscripts, are meticulously carried out throughout the volume.

"The Narrative of Peter Pond," the New Englander, with its curious descriptions of the Indians and the waterways of Wisconsin and Minnesota of the 1770's, with its original "fish" stories and its irritating fable about the young *voyageur* who brought absolution from a frontier missioner by the delivery of a sufficient number of otter skins, is fairly familiar to the reader interested in the sagas of the Northwest; but the journals of the four diarists are comparatively unknown and strikingly fresh. The interesting frontier events of these agents of the powerful Northwest Company are here recounted in the daily activities of the long, dreary winters and the short, golden summers in that wild regal realm of red men and bison and deer and otter and beaver that spread from what is now the modern Ottawa to the modern Winnepeg and south to Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods and in some instances to the regions beyond. The fierce rivalry that prevailed between the Northwest Company and its competitors, the Hudson Bay and X Y Companies, the building of forts and trading posts, the "shooting" of rapids and wild streams, the French Canadian feast days and days of merriment, births, deaths, murders, easy morals and high heroics, are mentioned in the daily entries, usually casually, seldom colorfully; and everywhere on the pages appear the hard-drinking traders, the hard-drinking clerks and trappers,

and the hard-drinking Indians, men and women. The "judicious" use of liquor to encourage the Indians who came to the posts to trade their furs slightly amazes even us who have survived the late prohibition era.

Of these four diarists of the frontier, McLeod, Faries, Macdonnell and Connor, the two latter were Catholics, and vigorously asserted their faith throughout their long, adventurous and hardy careers. John Macdonnell, born in Scotland, an officer on the British side in the war of 1812, married in the West the half-breed daughter of a trader. He continuously preserved a reputation for piety, was nicknamed "the Priest" by his frontier friends, and in his old years raised a fine calvary in front of his house, where his neighbors assembled for prayer. Thomas Connor was an Englishman by birth, and like Macdonnell and *à la façon du pays* married a half-breed. In later life he was associated with John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company and was occasionally thrown in among Protestant missionaries. He was quite contemptuous of the zealots among them and refused to permit his children to attend the mission school as he feared the danger to their Catholic faith.

The ample footnotes of the editor, which so clearly elucidate the narrative and the diaries, show a wide and thorough acquaintance with the literature dealing with the fur trade of that age and the difficult topography of the wild country in which it flourished. Among the French Canadian sources frequently cited, we note with interest such work as Father Georges Belcourt's *Itinéraire,* Father A. G. Morice's *Dictionnaire Historique des Canadiens,* and Monseigneur Taché's *Sketch of the North-West of America.* The general introduction to the volume as well as the special introductions to the diaries of John Macdonnell and Hugh Faries, all from the erudite pen of Grace Lee Nute, the curator of manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, add considerably to the readability of the work, which is concluded with an ample index.

M. M. Hoffmann.

Columbia College, Dubuque, Iowa.

Washington et Jumonville. Étude critique. By Abbé Georges Robitaille. (Montréal: Le Devoir. 1933. Pp. 69. $.60.)

Was Washington personally responsible for the death of the Sieur de Jumonville, or was that unfortunate Frenchman killed honorably in battle? This question the Abbé Robitaille answers by pointing to Washington as the guilty party. In support of his charge he has presented documentary evidence which he claims proves his contention.

The reviewer admits the possibility of the Abbé Robitaille's thesis being the correct explanation of what happened near Great Meadows on 28 May, 1754, but he cannot agree that the Abbé has proven his case. It is his

opinion that another and different explanation of events may be fully as plausible. It is further his opinion that all the evidence available today is not sufficient to prove conclusively either the innocence or the guilt of George Washington in this affair.

The claims of France and England to territory in the Ohio Valley were in hopeless conflict due to the inconclusive terms of the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). In 1753, Washington was ordered by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to deliver an ultimatum to the French at Fort Le Boeuf on the headwaters of the Ohio, ordering them to evacuate the territory which they occupied. The French courteously but firmly refused to comply. Washington returned to Virginia with this information, and with advice for the governor concerning the establishment of an English outpost at the forks of the Ohio. In February, 1754, Captain William Trent was sent to establish a fort on the site of what is today the city of Pittsburgh. Before that was completed, however, Trent and his men were driven out by the French, who finished the fort and named it Duquesne. In the meantime Washington had been placed in command of a body of troops and ordered to march to the support of Captain Trent. Before he reached his destination he met a group of thirty or forty French troops under the command of La Force and Jumonville, and there took place on the 28 May, 1754, the skirmish in which Jumonville lost his life. Abbé Robitaille claims that this party of French troops had the character of an embassy, and that as such it should have been treated peacefully. Jumonville was the bearer of an ultimatum to the English to evacuate the lands claimed by France, but there was nothing else about his party to lend it the character which the author of the present study claims it had. In view of Dinwiddie's previously rejected ultimatum, and after the ejection of Captain Trent and his men from their establishment on the Ohio, it is difficult to blame the commander of Virginia troops for considering Jumonville's party a scouting expedition rather than a pacific embassy. As John C. Fitzpatrick writes (*George Washington Himself*, 1933, p. 62): "The situation was unfortunate in every particular. Two armed parties of hereditary enemies searching for each other in the woods and the inexperienced commander of one of them [Washington] seeking advice from an Indian chief whose sole idea of an enemy was to lift his scalp. . . . Frontier conditions were such that an outbreak of hostilities could hardly have been avoided." The Abbé Robitaille quotes but two contemporary documents in support of his reconstruction of what happened at the encounter betwen Washington and Jumonville. The rest of the account is a penetrating psychological study of what must have occurred — but it is not necessarily history.

The first of the quoted documents is taken from the *Journal* of Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, who writes of having seen "the deposition

of an English deserter. It reports that M. de Jumonville was killed by an English detachment which surprised his party; that Jumonville stepped forward to communicate his orders to the English commander in spite of the discharge of musketry which the latter had ordered; that the English commander listened to the reading and then retired to his lines and ordered his men to fire on the French; that M. de Jumonville was wounded, and that a savage . . . had killed him" (note, p. 46). At best, this document is not an original source; at worst, it is the statement of an English deserter who might conceivably have been prejudiced against his former military superiors. If we accept this as an authentic account of what happened, may we not take the liberty of which the author of this study has so generously availed himself to sugegst that Washington may have uttered an unrecorded rejoinder to Jumonville's reading of his orders that would put an entirely different face on the matter? The second and most important contemporary document is primary source material of the first water: the capitulation signed by Washington, Mackay and the French commander, Coulon-Villiers, at the surrender of Fort Necessity on 3 July, 1754. That capitulation was the source of charges against Washington almost from the day of its signature, for in Article VII, the English commanders agreed to return the prisoners taken "dans l'assassinat du sieur de Jumonville." A few years later Washington wrote: "That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word assassination, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the death, or the loss, of Sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification we found it otherwise in a literal translation" (Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, I, note, p. 37). The author of the brochure under discussion proves to the satisfaction of any reader that Jacob Van Braam, the interpreter, knew French well in 1754 (pp. 33-34). He quotes Van Braam's request when on trial in Montréal in 1756: "d'être interrogé en langue française parce qu'il l'entend mieux que la langue anglaise." It is worth noting that this same statement also fortifies Washington's own claim that the interpreter was "little acquainted with the English tongue."

It is true that the Abbé Robitaille presents most plausible arguments answering many of these points, and others that might be raised, yet we must insist that they are not based on reliable historical evidence, but rather upon a reconstruction of events which might be matched with a similar equally plausible reconstruction tending to a different conclusion. In other words, the evidence advanced is not sufficient to destroy a reputation of the character of Washington.

JOHN J. MENG.

The Catholic University of America.

The Civilization of the Old Northwest. By BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR. (New York: Macmillan. 1934. Pp. xi, 543. $3.50.)

This is a study of the political, social, and economic development of the Ohio Territory in the quarter-century that immediately preceded the War of 1812. It has the great merit of being logical in its structure and steeped in the spirit of the Old Northwest.

After examining the conflicting ideas of the conservative East on the matter of settling along the Ohio and marking the various tides of migration, Mr. Bond enters upon a chronological study of the march of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan from wilderness towards statehood. How clumsy and sometimes arbitrary forms of government could move, despite halts and hitches between officials, to achieve an efficient social unity is the story of the first eight chapters of this work. The latter part of the book is given to the consideration of special problems such as: The Conquest of the Indians, the Distribution of Land, Pioneer Agriculture, Opening up Communication, the Rise of Trade and Industry, Cultural and Social Foundations, Religion and Order. Each of the studies suggested by these chapter-headings constitutes a well-rounded and well-documented portrayal of the life of the pioneer in the Old Northwest. They are enlivened by anecdote and made living by the presentation of various quotations that the author gleaned from diaries, letters, newspaper-files, as well as from official papers. From all these sources an accumulation of data has been marshalled and moulded into a study that is as pleasant to read as it is instructive.

Some of the most interesting commentaries on life along the Ohio find their inspiration in articles and notices of the *Western Spy* and *Liberty Hall*, the *Scioto Gazette* and the *Freeman's Journal*. It was a happy thought to use the advertisements of these early papers for the light they show on the social and economic life of a section. There is no doubt either that the bitterness of political strife along the frontier is well reflected in the newspapers that were printed there. But there is one place where the emotional and partisan attitude of the frontier press might betray the earnest historian, and that is where they speak of those of their neighbors who may chance to differ by race or creed from themselves. Professor Bond seems to be more under the influence of the pioneer press than the larger testimony of sober history when he writes of Spanish intrigue and Canadian intrigue working constantly against the peace of the American colonists (pp. 150, 188). It is hard to imagine how a handful of traders striving to maintain their right to livelihood could muster force sufficient to "intrigue continually among the Indians." The statement seems more inspired by the nervous attitude of a newspaperman, forgetful of the fact

that it was these same "illiterate" traders who joined forces with George Rogers Clark in 1788 and gave him his victory over the British and Indians at Vincennes.

JAMES L. CONNOLLY.

The St. Paul Seminary.

Cardinal Newman and William Froude, F. R. S.: A Correspondence. By GORDON HUNTINGTON HARPER. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. Pp. viii, 221. $2.00.)

This is not just another book on Newman but a careful study of Newman's thought on a fundamental point which occupied his mind for many years, as illustrated by a correspondence with some of his close friends. That correspondence, much of it never before published, passed between Newman and William Froude and his family. Froude was one of those three brothers whose careers were interwoven with Newman's. Hurrell, the "bright and beautiful," is well known; James Anthony has also secured a permanent niche in history by the curious chance that an historical work of his not otherwise especially valuable led indirectly to the *Apologia*; William, the one who appears in this book, though occupying an honoured position in the history of nineteenth-century science is less known to students of the Oxford Movement despite the fact that his relations with Newman, beginning before Newman's conversion and lasting to his death in 1879, were intimate and had important consequences. Dr. Harper's book would be worth while if it did no more than make William Froude more widely known.

In fact it does far more than that. It casts light on the process of meditation which culminated in the *Grammar of Assent*. The subject matter of the correspondence here printed was the age-old problem of the reasonableness of Faith. To Froude the Act of Faith seemed unreasonable as implying a leap from high probability to certitude, and Newman's effort throughout the series of letters lies in showing that Froude's position is itself unreasonable. To enter on a discussion of this topic is not the reviewer's function. I confine myself to the observation that, as so often happens in such discussions, the difference between the two men was fundamentally temperamental. Froude was (or tried to be) a pure thinker, excluding from enquiry all personal elements and in particular the exercise of will, while to Newman the Assent of Faith is an act not of the intellect alone but of the whole man. Froude wrote: "On no subject whatever . . . is my mind . . . capable of arriving at an absolutely certain conclusion" (pp. 9-10); and: "It seems to me that the tendency to say '*I will*' in reference to belief is the characteristic not of scientific but of personal proof" (pp. 135-136). Contrast this with Newman's

dictum: "Man is *not* a reasoning animal; he is a seeing, feeling, contemplating, acting animal" (*Discussions and Arguments*, p. 294), or with such sermons as "Faith and Doubt" in *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, or almost any page of the *Oxford University Sermons*, and it will become evident that agreement was impossible. To Froude religious investigation was a process coldly intellectual, to Newman it was a process that called into play every faculty of the seeker, including even the emotions.

By his conscientious fulfilling of the editorial task Dr. Harper has laid all students of Newman under a deep obligation to him. That task was difficult. It consisted in selecting and copying MS. letters to and from Newman ranging from 1843 to 1879, and of comparing the originals with such few portions of them as had been published. Based as it is on original research in an important field of Newmanology the book occupies a position quite apart from most of the writings on Newman and the Oxford Movement with which we have been deluged during the past year. Dr. Harper has tried to be as fair and as objective as possible and he has succeeded as far as such an ideal is humanly attainable. There are, however, occasional slips. For instance, on p. 28 he writes: "'We can believe what we choose,' Newman wrote in 1847. 'We are answerable for what we choose to believe'," and from this he draws the conclusion that "reduced to its simplest terms Newman's argument approached dangerously near the proposition that belief produced truth." If the reader turns to page 81 he will find in a letter of 1848 (not 1847) the words (addressed to Mrs. Froude): "Though you can believe what you choose, you must believe what you ought"; and if he turns to page 77 he will find in another letter to Mrs. Froude (also of 1848): "We are answerable for what we choose to believe." A study of the context of those sentiments will reveal that the meaning is not precisely what Dr. Harper makes it out to be.

On page 29, note 16, he tells us that "theologians all maintained . . . that the truths of religion were to be proved by the logical reasoning processes of the *Verstand*." What theologians maintain is not that reason demonstrates the truths of religion (though some of those truths, *e. g.*, the existence of God, can be demonstrated by reason) but that reason can demonstrate that any given truth of religion is not against reason. The difference is fundamental. On page 61 we are told that "the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric . . . outraged Newman's sense of decorum rather more than it actually offended against any laws of ecclesiastical polity." That affair was of capital importance in Newman's conversion, as he himself tells us in the *Apologia* (referred to in this very passage), for it laid bare the hollowness of the Anglican claim to Catholicity. An incident which could help to determine a mind like Newman's to a step so momentous must have

appeared to him more than an offence against decorum or ecclesiastical polity. The misprints are more numerous and more likely to mislead than one expects in a book issuing from a university press; but on the other hand Dr. Harper has corrected (p. 84) an unfortunate error in a letter of Newman as given in Ward's *Life* (I, 622). Students had better hasten to note the correction. I repeat: this is a singularly important contribution to the study of Newman, especially in connection with the *Grammar of Assent,* and must henceforth be taken account of in studying the great Cardinal.

EDWIN RYAN.

Roland Park, Baltimore.

Men Who Left the Movement: John Henry Newman, Thomas W. Allies, Henry Edward Manning, Basil William Maturin. By GERTRUDE DONALD. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1933. Pp. viii, 422. 10 s. 6 d.)

The title of this book is misleading. Newman himself, in his *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties,* pointed out that the logical terminus of the Oxford Movement is Rome; whence follows the conclusion that the men whose names adorn the cover of this volume did not leave the Movement but remained in it until attaining their natural and inevitable goal, while those who, having embarked on the Tractarian ship, were not found on board when the vessel, anchored in the harbour, must have left. The author takes the opposite view, not in the title only but throughout the book. For instance: "That tide of conversions which swept so many men from the Movement" (pp. 94-95); "Those who believed they could be 'Catholic without being Roman Catholic,' as the modern slogan has it, remained under the leadership of Keble and Pusey in the paths which had led Newman to Rome" (pp. 205-206); "The many conversions to Rome which caused so many of the flower of the Movement to leave it" (p. 273); "The following extracts from [Father Maturin's] letters have been made in the hope that they may show the true and only reason why the Movement has proved powerless from the very start to keep men from leaving it" (pp. 321-322). This last passage is the more puzzling in view of the quotation (pp. 404-405) from one of Father Maturin's own letters: "For myself, I can truly say that it was what I believed as an Anglican that drove me to Rome—to stay where I was seemed to me to stop short suddenly and unreasonably from the conclusions involved in the premises which I had so far accepted." To the present reviewer the Oxford Movement is unintelligible except as Newman, Maturin and other prominent converts from Anglicanism have represented it, *viz.,* as having but one possible ending, Rome. Those who pursued the journey to that ending are the ones who

stayed, those who, having set out on the journey, never attained the goal are the ones who "left."

This blemish on a book otherwise excellent is unfortunate since it tends to confusion of values by stressing the negative aspect of conversion to the consequent obscuring of its positive aspect. What really counts is not that a person quits a false religion but that he enters the true religion, a point Father Maturin (to take but one instance) never tired of inculcating. Repeatedly he warned his correspondents against confusing dissatisfaction with the Church of England with acceptance of the Church of Rome, *i. e.*, instead of wasting a lot of time looking back on what they are leaving they ought to look forward to what they are approaching. To represent Newman and the others as having "left" the Movement implies that they had fallen into an error akin to, if not identical with, the very error Father Maturin deprecated.

With this important reservation the present reviewer commends the book for its admirable presentation of the struggles, intellectual and spiritual, of the four men of whom it treats. The Manning chapter is probably the best in the book. Basing her study on the correspondence, Miss Donald simply pulverizes the vulgar caricature of a great and noble man which has been inflicted on us by Purcell, and has been given a new lease of life by Lytton Strachey. In triumphantly disposing of the misrepresentation in what has been wittily but not inaptly called "Purcell's Attempt on the Life of Cardinal Manning" the author has performed a service which alone make the book worth while. The chapter on Maturin will appeal with poignant force to those many persons who, having known him in the flesh, cherish his memory and recall as though it were but of yesterday the tragedy which was for him an opportunity for an heroic death. While throughout the volume Miss Donald has some admirably pertinent passages in which she applies to the present day the lessons taught by conversions that occurred long ago, she naturally finds in Father Maturin the readiest occasion for driving home those lessons. This feature renders her book not only an excellent biographical study but also an extremely useful weapon of Apologetic for present-day Anglican seekers after Truth.

EDWIN RYAN.

Roland Park, Md.

Das Konkordat zwischen dem Heiligen Stuhle und dem Freistaat Baden. By ERNST FÖHR. With an introduction by Archbishop CONRAD GRÖBER. (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder and Co. 1933. Pp. x, 94.)

The provisions of the agreements between the Holy See and the government of Baden of 1821 and 1827 which amounted to a concordat were

superseded by developments since that time. It is necessary to mention in this connection only the promulgation of the Codex Juris Canonici of 1917 (*e. g.*, its can. 329 concerning the appointment and election of bishops) on the one hand and the new constitutions of Germany and Baden of 1919 on the other. Negotiations between the Holy See and the government of Baden, started at the request of the former, led to the conclusion of a Concordat on October 12, 1932, following after similar agreements with Bavaria (1924) and Prussia (1929). After a historical introduction (10 pp.) by the author, the volume under review gives the official texts, in German and Italian, of the Concordat and the Final and an Additional Protocol (which form part of the Concordat), a commentary (18 pp.) on it by the editor, and, for purposes of comparison, the text of the convention of the government of Baden with the United Evangelical-Protestant *Landeskirche* of Baden, also with a commentary (5 pp.). Three unpublished documents, in Latin and German, are added for their partly historical but mainly legal importance touching on questions involved in the Concordat.

The author and editor, Dr. Föhr (together with Archbishop Gröber of Freiburg i. Br.) was an adviser to the Holy See in the Concordat negotiations, and was also the official reporter of the Diet of Baden on the Concordat. His historical introduction is ample and able. In his excellent commentary on the Concordat he brings out clearly the mutual rights and obligations of the Roman Catholic Church and the State of Baden as established by this document, comparing them with former conditions and referring to pertinent provisions of the Codex Juris Canonici, papal bulls, the constitutions of the German Reich and Baden, the unpublished documents mentioned above, and other post-war concordats. Dr. Föhr's commentary on Baden's convention with its Protestant *Landeskirche* is of a similar nature and quality. The whole work is a first-rate scholarly study and exposition, valuable for its authentic information, clear analysis, its enlightening comparisons, references, and its sufficient index. The present reviewer is unable to find any fault with the book.

In his preface, Dr. Föhr quotes from a letter of Archbishop Gröber of Freiburg i. Br., in which he expresses his great appreciation and sincere thanks to the Center Party of Baden for its effective work for the Concordat. Dr. Föhr, until recently chairman of the Center Party in Baden, points out that the Diet of Baden passed the bill embodying the Concordat by the close vote of 44 to 42, with two opponents of the bill being prevented from voting through unavoidable absence. For the Concordat voted, among others, all 35 Centrists; against it, all 18 Socialists, all five Communists, and all eight National Socialists. Since that time, the Center Party had to dissolve itself and, under the provisions of the Concordat of 1933 with the German Reich, such priest-parliamentarians as the able

author and editor of the work under review have had to withdraw from the political field. The disappearance of the Center Party and of priests from the German political arena does not, as was seen last summer, make the conclusion of concordats impossible. It does, however, deprive the Catholic Church of parliamentary "watchdogs."

JOHN BROWN MASON.

The University of Colorado.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Secretary's report of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, held at Washington, D. C., December 27-29, will be given in the April number of the REVIEW. Featuring the fiftieth anniversary meeting of the American Historical Association were sessions devoted to the development of religious liberty in colonial America, a half-century of American historiography, medieval history, history and philosophy; a luncheon of editors of historical publications, and the founders dinner at which Dr. Waldo G. Leland acted as toastmaster. Following Professor Dodd's presidential address on the Emergence of the First Social Order in the United States, there was thrown on the screen a series of news reels depicting historic episodes of the past quarter century. At the session on Hispanic American history, Professor Mary Watters read a paper on Bolivar and the Church.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. George L. Lacombe, of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, died in Paris, November 1. After obtaining his doctorate at Stanford University, Dr. Lacombe pursued further medieval studies abroad, and won his diploma as an archivist and paleographer at the École de Chartes in Paris. He published the *Life and Works of Prepositinus of Cremona,* chancellor of the University of Paris at the beginning of the 13th century, a work on *Stephen Langton,* and at the time of his death was engaged on the *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi* for the American Council of Learned Societies. He lectured at the University of Louvain, was a contributor to this REVIEW and other publications, and was Research Professor of Medieval History of the Catholic University of America, directing as well the students of that institution who came to France to pursue their graduate studies.

Dr. James Llorens, who made his graduate studies in Latin-American history at Columbia and Harvard, has been appointed head of the department of history of Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa.

The first three volumes of Arnold Toynbee's mounmental work on the *Study of History,* projected in thirteen volumes, have been issued (Oxford University Press).

An extremely short sketch of the character and importance of a particular document is contained in P. L. Couchoud's *La plus ancienne Bible chrétienne: les papyrus Chester Beatty* (Leroux, Paris).

The History of Palestine, by Jacob de Haas, traces the story from the Roman conquest in the first century B. C. to the grant of the mandate to Great Britain after the World War (Macmillan, pp. 523).

The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt has been translated by Sir Ernest A. Wallis, from the Syrian version of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* of Ânân Îshô of Bêth 'Âbhê (Oxford University Press, pp. 445).

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, has been translated into English with introduction and notes by Burton Scott (Cambridge, University Press, pp. 106).

The Humphrey-Milford list includes *Stories of the Fathers,* a translation, by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, of the *Paradise of the Holy Fathers* which was written by Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, about 400 A. D.

Volume II of the *Christian Religion, Its Origin and Progress* deals with the *Expansion of the Christian Church,* a collaboration of P. Gardner-Smith and F. J. Foakes-Jackson (Cambridge University Press, pp. 368).

Blackwood's has published *Western Christian Thought in the Middle Ages: an Historical Introduction,* by Dr. S. H. Mellone; and Vol. VI of *Medieval Political Theory in the West,* by Sir R. W. Carlyle and Dr. A. J. Carlyle.

Christopher Dawson's Forwood Lectures at the University of Liverpool, 1934, have been published under the title, *Medieval Religion and Other Essays* (Sheed and Ward, pp. 195).

Medieval Theories of the Papacy and Other Essays, by the late Robert Hull, S. J., is a volume collected and arranged by Father Edmund F. Sutcliffe, S. J. (Burns Oates, pp. 256).

Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages, in two volumes, by Professor W. E. Lunt, reviewed in this issue, is a recent addition of the *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* (Columbia University Press, pp. 341, 665). *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia,* by Geoffrey Barraclough, is a calendar and a study of a *formularium notariorum curie* from the early years of the fourteenth century (Macmillan, pp. 283).

The volume of *Oxford Essays in Medieval History,* presented to Herbert E. Salter (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 264), besides an introductory note by Professor Powicke and a bibliography of Professor Salter's writings, contains, among others, studies of the Era of the Folk in English History, Abbess Bethlem of S. Maria di Porta Somma and the Barons of the Terra Beneventana, the Castilian Chancery during the Reign of Alfonso X, the Ecclesiastical Banleuca in England, the Forfeiture of the Lands of the Templars in England, and Notes on the History of Butley Priory.

Historical studies represented in the October number of *Speculum* in-

clude: The Exhumation of King Arthur at Glastonbury, by W. A. Nitze; the Rawlinson *Excidium Troie:* a Study of Source Problems in Medieval Troy Literature, by E. Bagby Atwood; Parisian Masters as a Corporation, 1200-1246, by Gaines Post; the Victorian and Dionysiac Paschal Tables in the West, by Charles W. Jones; and a Forged Letter concerning the Existence of Latin Monks at St. Mary's before the First Crusade, by Lynn White, Jr.

During October and November three French biographies worthy of note served to emphasize the international character of the Church. *Matt Talbot. Le saint au chantier,* translated by J. d'Ars from the English of Sir Joseph A. Glynn, was published in Desclée's collection, *La Lumière Ouvrière.* Lethielleux (Paris) contributed Father Xavier Mertens' *Une martyre de 14 ans en Chine: Anne Wang de Ma-Kia-Tchong (1886-1900),* and Bloud et Gay (Paris) published *Un chef: Gil Robles,* by Rev. A. Boissel, S. J.

The Medieval Academy of America has recently published *Codex Quartus Sancti Iacobi de Expedimento et Conversione Yspanie et Gallecis editus a Beato Turpino Archiepiscopo,* edited by Ward Thoron.

Fascicule VII of Dom Charles Poulet's *Histoire du Christianisme* (Beauchesne) was published in October. It is entitled *L'Avenement des Carolingiens. L'Eglise occidentale au IX^e siècle.*

The Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique has announced the approaching publication of the *Correspondance du Cardinal de Bérulle (1575-1629).* It will be issued in three octavo volumes edited by Jean Dagens, Professor at the University of Nimeguen. The importance of this correspondence is evident when it is realized that it throws much light on the religious policy of Henri IV, on the political activities of the exiled French Jesuits, on the French establishment of the Carmelites, and upon many other questions of importance in the religious history of the period.

Louis Baudiment is the author of what promises to be a definitive biography of *François Pallu. Principal fondateur de la Société des Missions étrangères 1626-1684).* It is published by Beauchesne, Paris.

In October Flammarion (Paris) published the most recent of the works of the late Pierre de La Gorce. *Les Massacres de prêtres sous la Révolution, 1792-1793* is a small but excellent volume, and forms a part of the collection, *Les Bonnes Lectures.*

A member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, R. P. Duchaussois, has added to Flammarion's collection, *Les Bonnes Lectures,* an excellent short study of French missionary activity in Ceylon, *Des Missionnaires français à Ceylan.*

Cardinal Ximenes and the Making of Spain, by Reginald Merton, is a recent publication of Routledge Kegan Paul.

Sheed and Ward's autumn list includes Vol. I of *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition,* by Maisie Ward (pp. 416); and *Don John of Austria,* by Margaret Yeo (pp. 320).

Charles IV, the Priest's Emperor, by the late Bede Jarrett, O. P., with an introduction by Professor Ernest Barker, has been published by Eyre and Spottiswoode.

A posthumous collection of essays on *Erasmus* and his times, by P. S. Allen, comes from the Oxford University Press.

The religious conflict in Germany has called forth a number of attempts to trace the origin and interpret the meaning of the controversy. Among these works are noted: *Religion and the European Mind,* by Professor Adolf Keller (Lutterworth Press, pp. 208); *The Church Controversy in Germany,* by Professor Aders Nygren (Student Christian Movement Press, pp. 115); *Der Kampf um die Deutsche Kirche,* by Andrean Duhm (Gotha, Leopold Klotz Verlag); *Deutsches Volkstum und Evangelischer Glaube,* by Emanuel Hirsch (Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt); *Volkskirche oder Sekte?* by Wilhelm Stapel (*ibid.*); *Nationalkatholizismus,* by Konrad Hentrich (*ibid.*); and *Die Glaubensnot der Deutschen Katholiken,* by Michael Schäffler (Zurich, Roland Verlag).

The contribution to *Miscellanea Francescana,* April-June, by P. M. Giuseppe Abate, O. F. M. Conv., on *S. Alfonso e Clemente XIV,* has been reissued in pamphlet form (pp. 35).

Sigred Undset's *Saga of Saints* tells the story of the coming of Christianity to Scandinavia by portraying the lives of St. Suniva, St. Magnus, King Olav Haraldsson, and Father Karl Schilling (Longmans, Green).

In a brief sketch of 80 pages (probably limited by lack of materials), the Rev. Telford Varley relates, in *St. Birinus and Wessex,* the labors of the Evangelist of the West Saxons (Winchester, Eng., Warren and Son).

The Victorian Transformation of Theology, by Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, is the second series of the Maurice Lectures delivered at King's College, Eng. (pp. 96).

F. D. Vaughan in *Five Centuries of Catholic Witness* (S. P. C. K., pp. 158) contributes twenty-one studies of men, from Clement of Rome to Gregory the Great, for the purpose of drawing attention to some of the Patristic literature used by the early leaders of the Oxford Movement.

At the meeting of the Royal Historical Society, held December 13, Miss A. E. Roberts read a paper on Pierre d'Ailly and the Council of Con-

stance. At the meeting scheduled for April 11, Dr. Cecil Roth will discuss the Inquisitional Archives as a Source of History.

The Harvard University Press has prepared an additional index to Professor Wilbur C. Abbott's *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* (see this REVIEW, XV, 486), listing the periodicals, publications, etc., of that work, together with certain addends, corrigenda, and delenda. This pamphlet is paged continuously with the *Bibliography*, and will be sent free to owners of that volume.

New pamphlets of the Catholic Truth Society include: *The Onslaught of Scepticism, 1648-1773*, part 8 of the *Story of the Church*, by Mother Keppel; *The Catholic Truth Society, the First Fifty Years*, by G. E. Anstruther and the Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. E. Hallett; and *The English Cistercians and Their Restoration*, by a Monk of St. Bernard Abbey, Coalville. Additions to the *Studies in Comparative Religion* are: *The Religions of China and Japan*, by Father Mullie and the Rev. J. M. Martin; *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, by the Rev. A. Mallon, S. J.; *The Religion of Ancient Greece*, by the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S. J.; *Patriarchal and Mosaic Religion, The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets*, and *The Religion of Post-Exilic Judaism*, all by Dr. Barton; *Scholasticism*, by the Rev. Victor White, O. P.; and *Anglicanism*, by the Rev. A. Janssens.

St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, by Eoin MacNeill, is based upon the Saint's own writings and the hymn of his friend, St. Secundinus (Sheed and Ward, pp. 122).

The September issue of *Studies* is given over almost entirely to the field of history. Professor Michael Tierney writes on Ireland and the Reform of Democracy; Herbert Thurston, S. J., on Saint Ignatius at Montmartre; Aubrey Gwynn, S. J., contributes the third part of his biography of Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh; Aodh de Blacam discusses the Other Hidden Ireland; Charles O'Conor, S. J., continues his account of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, under the subtitle, "A Irish Scholar's Education"; Dr. Richard Hayes presents Gen. Charles Jennings Kilmaine, 1751-1799; the Rev. Dr. P. W. Browne keeps alive the recent interest in Thomas Dongan, Soldier and Statesman; and Joseph O'Mara tells of the Belgian Congo.

The *Dublin Review* for October contains the following historical studies: Dr. Dollfus and Msgr. Seipel, by C. F. Melville; Von Papen and the German Catholics, by Lee J. Stanley; Richard Topeliffe, Priest-Hunter and Torturer, by John R. O'Connell; Drama in the Medieval Church, by W. H. Shewring; and the Spanish Sermon in the Seventeenth Century, by Edward Sarmiento.

Jacques Buteux: le premier evangélisateur de la region du St. Maurice

(*1634-1652*) is a pamphlet of 93 pp., consisting of this Jesuit's journal, letters, and other material concerning him to be found in the *Jesuit Relations.*

Those who are interested in completing the list of Catholic Directories compiled by Mr. Eugene Willging and printed in the last issue of the REVIEW, will welcome these additional notes. There were two *Catholic Directories* published in 1834, both in Baltimore—*The United States Catholic Almanac,* issued by the firm of James Myers, and the *Metropolitan Catholic Calendar and Laity's Directory,* issued by the firm of Fielding Lucas, Jr. No explanation has been found for the two editions. A copy of the Lucas *Directory,* now very scarce, is in the possession of Mr. Joseph Weber of Baltimore, Maryland. Mr. Frederick P. Kenkel, the director of the Central Bureau in St. Louis, Missouri, sent us the titles of the three German Directories (1869, 1882 and 1892) under the general name of *Schematismus* of the German priests in the United States. The first (1869) was published by the Pustet Company (New York and Cincinnati) and was compiled by Father Ernst A. Reiter, pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Boston, Mass. It is 273 pages in length and contains an ecclesiastical map of the United States. The second (1882) was the work of Father W. Bonnecamp, pastor of the Sacred Heart Church in Franklin, Wisconsin, and of J. B. Mueller, editor of the *Stimme der Wahrheit* of Detroit, Mich. It is 447 pages in length and has an appendix giving statistics of the German Catholics in Canada. The third (1882), printed by Hoffman Brothers of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has 379 pages and was compiled by Father John N. Enzlberger of the Diocese of Belleville. The work was issued as a *Festgabe* for the Columbus Jubilee that year. It is needless to add that these volumes are indispensable to the historian of the Church in the United States. Incidentally, it should be noted that the annual almanac *Katolik,* published by the Benedictine Fathers of St. Procopius' Abbey, Lisle, Illinois, contains a list of the Bohemian clergy, parishes, and societies in the United States (P. G.).

Exercises commemorating the golden jubilee of the United States Catholic Historical Association were held November 8 in New York City. The principal speaker was the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Joseph H. McMahon who recounted the achievements of the society during the past fifty years in preserving Catholic history. Special tribute was appropriately paid by all the speakers to Mr. Thomas F. Meehan, for the past nineteen years editor of the society's publications. The latter now number 28 volumes of *Historical Records and Studies* and 15 issues of the *Monograph Series.*

The *Bulletin* of the National Benedictine Educational Association, XVII, No. 1 (September), prints the report of the proceedings and addresses of the 17th annual convention, including the following papers:

Some Observations on Contemporary History and Teaching Objectives, by the Rev. Walter Reger, O. S. B.; History Courses in our Benedictine Colleges, by the Rev. Dominic Keller, O. S. B.; the Plan for Publishing the History of our Order in the United States in 1946, by the Very Rev. Felix Fellner, O. S. B.; Some Religious Aspects of the American Revolution, by the Rev. Dr. Lawrence Davitt, O. S. B.; and a Historical Résumé of the National Benedictine Educational Association, by the Rev. James Lauer, O. S. B.

Early Plans for the German Catholic Colonization in Texas, by the Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., reprinted from *Mid-America* (April, 1934), has been issued as Vol. II, no. 6, of the *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society,* and distributed under the auspices of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission.

The Diaries of Ignatius Donnelly are being edited by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen for publication by the Minnesota Historical Society.

Helen Grace Smith has reprinted in an attractive brochure her appreciation of *An Apostolic Woman of Our Own Day* (Mother Katharine Drexel) which first appeared in the *Sign.*

The Golden Jubilee of the American Catholic Historical Society is appropriately given first place in the September number of the Society's *Records.* The Rev. Dr. Francis E. Tourscher, O. S. A., continues his account of Old Saint Augustine's in Philadelphia: Its Foundations and Missions; Dr. Elizabeth Kite contributes another instalment of her account of Lafayette and His Companions on the *Victoire;* and Dr. John Meng presents a review article of Father Baisnée's recent study of France and the Establishment of the American Catholic Hierarchy.

The October number of *Acta et Dicta* contains an account of Missionary Activity in the Northwest under the French Régime, 1640-1740, by Sister M. Aquinas Norton, O. S. I.; the concluding chapter of the career of Hennepin, the Discoverer of the Falls of St. Anthony, by Francis J. Schaefer; a note on Old Reserve Town, "a colorful page in the early history of St. Paul, Minn.," by Sister Antonia McHugh, S. S. J.; the history of St. Joseph's Hospital in St. Paul, by John M. Culligan and Harold J. Prendergast; an account of Archbishop Ireland's Colonies, by Humphrey Moynihan; and a continuation of the history of the Church of St. Mary of St. Paul, by James M. Reardon.

The Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, Minn., has sent to each pastor of the archdiocese a questionnaire requesting information concerning the history of the parish and some account of manuscript and printed historical records that may be available.

With the *Social Studies* continuing the *Historical Outlook* and laying no particular stress on history, teachers of history in our Catholic schools will doubtless find greater interest in the *Historical Bulletin* of St. Louis University. The November issue lists the following contents: Before Leo XIII, by Dr. R. Corrigan, S. J.; a syllabus covering the years of Leo XIII and after, prepared by Dr. George H. Derry; information concerning an Astronomer of Colonial Spanish America (Bonaventura Suarez), by Guillermo Furlong, S. J.; an article on the Status of Woman in Homeric Times, by a Sister of St. Joseph; an appreciation of Father Gabriel Richard, by Thomas F. O'Connor; a useful check on Catholic Facts and History Texts, by Dr. William J. McGucken, S. J.; and a Guide to Medieval Literature, prepared by the learned Dr. Francis S. Betten, S. J.

In the pages of *America* (September 16, 1933), attention was called to the curious blunders on American Catholic history in Dr. Joseph Schmidlin's *Papstgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit.* The second volume of this work has just appeared (Pustet, Munich). After speaking of the foundation of the American College in Rome and of its progress under "Rektor MacCloskey," we read: "Auf Bitten des Präsidenten Lincoln schmükte er 1875 trotz des Abratens Antonellis Closkey als Erzbischof von New York mit dem Purpur, wofür ihm der Präsident Grant seinen Dank abstatten liess" (p. 210).

The Catholic Association for International Peace has issued: *Argentina, Land of the Eucharistic Congress, 1934* (pp. 37), by E. Francis McDevitt and the Latin America Committee; *Peace Education in the Curriculum of the Schools* (pp. 30), by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John M. Wolfe and the Peace Education Committee; and a *Syllabus on International Relations for Colleges and Lay Groups* (pp. 28).

Featuring the tenth anniversary number of *Commonweal,* November 2, are the following contributions: Ten Years of the *Commonweal,* by Michael Williams, the editor; From One Age to Another, by Professor Carlton Hayes; Joan of Arc, Heretic or Saint? by the Rev. T. L. Riggs; and Orestes Augustus Brownson, by Daniel Sargent.

Professor Richard Pattee, of the University of Puerto Rico, announces the formation of an Instituto Ibero-Americano at that university, the purpose of which will be the collection and dissemination of knowledge concerning Hispanic America. The institute seeks contributions of books, pamphlets, documents, and publications of all kinds relating to Spain, Portugal, and the nations of Ibero-America.

Church and State in Latin America: a History of the Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations, by Professor J. Lloyd Mecham, treats of these relations in

the Spanish and Portuguese speaking areas, with an attempt at interpretation (University of North Carolina Press, pp. 550).

Anniversaries: 400th, founding of Ursulines. 300th, Our Lady of the Nativity, Beauport, Canada. 100th: Holy Trinity, Cincinnati; St. John's Lockport, N. Y.; St. Michael's, Philadelphia (historical sketch in *Catholic Standard and Times,* Oct. 26); St. Peter's, Keokuk, Ia.; St. Peter's, Richmond, Va. (historical account in *Catholic Virginian,* January, 1935). 75th: St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D. C. (historical account in *Baltimore Catholic Review,* Oct. 5); St. Gabriel's New York; St. John's Hanover, Kan. (histories in Hanover *Herald* and *Democrat,* May 18); St. Michael's Cannelton, Ind. (historical account in *Indianapolis Catholic and Record,* Sept. 28). 50th: St. Anthony's, Gardenville, Md.; St. Edward's, Little Rock, Ark.; St. Francis' Church, St. Paul, Kan. (account by P. M. Ponziglione, S. J., in *St. Paul Journal,* May 24; St. Mary's, Port Washington, Wis. (*Catholic Herald, Oct.* 4); St. Wenceslaus' Church, Verdigre, Neb.; United States Catholic Historical Society, New York (*Catholic News,* Nov. 17); American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia (historical account in *Records,* Sept.). 25th: All Saints' Church, Hayward, Calif.; Diocese of Rockford; Our Lady of Lourdes, Indianapolis; Our Lady of the Lake, Mound, Minn.; Our Lady of Victory, New York; Sacred Heart, Vincennes, Ind.; St. Hyacinth's, Milwaukee, Wis.; St. Leo's, Milwaukee, Wis.; St. James, Denver, Colo.; St. James, Oakfield, Wis.; St. John's, Herington, Kan. (histories in Herington *Times* and *Sun,* Apr. 26); St. Peter's, Beloit, Wis; SS. Peter and Paul, Buffalo, N. Y.

Documents: La minute d'un mandement d'Alexandre III à l'archévêque Bertrand de Bordeaux, 1162-1173, Johannes Ramackers (*Moyen Age,* April-June); Lettre inédite d'un étudiant en théologie de l'Université de Paris vers la fin du XII[e] siècle, D. G. Morin (*Recherches de Théologie ancienne et medievale,* October); Record of Padre Fray Junípero Serra's Death in the Book of the Dead of Mission San Carlos at Carmel, in the Hand of Fray Francisco Palou (*California Historical Quarterly,* June); Five Years in America, 1859: Journal of Father Anthony Gachet, O. M. Cap. (continued), introduction by Celestine N. Bittle, O. M. Cap. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History,* September); Letters to Bishop Henni (continued), P. L. Johnson (*Salesianum,* October); Maximilian Godefroy (architect of St. Mary's Chapel, Baltimore), with comments by Caroline V. Davison (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* September); Letters of Father Franz Pierz, Pioneer Missioner in the United States (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* October-December); Rev. Lawrence Lautisher in Minnesota (continued), J. L. Zaplotnik (*Acta et Dicta,* October).

BRIEF NOTICES

BARNES, GILBERT H., Ph. D., *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844.* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., published by the American Historical Association, 1933, pp. ix, 298, $3.50.)

Here is another good critique of reformers, operating even in a noble cause. We see the essentially religious and frequently anti-Catholic origins of the anti-slavery movement, out of the minority-directed benevolent societies that resulted from the Great Revival of the 1820's, slavery being one of the sins the revivalists were "after." Many will find another idol with feet of clay, in reading how the Garrison legend of antislavery "leadership" was "made" and will feel that the name of Theodore Weld should be subsituted. Among other things, there was Garrison's condemning institutionalized religion, then all institutions (anarchism), as the clergy refused to play second fiddle to him (and his paper). But decentralization of the movement away from the central society and concentration on petition-gathering not only raised the allied issue of the "gag-rules" in Congress (good old reform strategy to bring reinforcements) but resulted in a house-to-house agitation that soon made individual congressmen find it expedient to sponsor abolition, so that party unity was broken and the bi-partisan Southern conspiracy of silence disrupted. But it was no longer a friendly revivalist movement to bring the slavers to repentance, but a deadly sectional hatred of the sinner. (MAJOR L. J. YOUNCE.)

BAUDRILLART, A., Most Rev., *Vingt-cinq Ans de Rectorat: l'Institut Catholique de Paris: 1907-1932.* (Paris, Gigord, 1932, pp. iii, 382.)

Contains the addresses of the present Rector of the Institut Catholique of Paris at the opening and closing of the academic years 1907-1932, mainly historical in character. (P. G.)

BAXTER, JAMES PHINNEY, 3rd, *The Introduction of the Ironclad Warship.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. xvi, 398, $5.00)

The nineteenth century witnessed five great revolutions in naval construction—the introduction of steam, of shell guns, of the screw propeller, of rifled ordnance, and of armor. Attempts to protect ships from fire and shot by covering them with metal may be traced back to antiquity, but it was not until the introduction of shell guns that the disparity between offensive and defensive naval warfare became great enough to make imperative the need for armored ships. During the first half of the nineteenth century the need was successfully met, so that by 1860 the old wooden warship had become obsolete. The resultant race between states for the maintenance or acquisition of naval superiority in the new-type vessel led to war scares and strained international relationships of the most dangerous sort. Professor Baxter has culled the archives of England, France, and the United States to obtain the wealth of material which he has incorporated in this volume. His story is that of the first sixty years of the nineteenth century, but the information he offers

helps to explain a great part of the international scene during the fifty years following the period with which he deals. (JOHN J. MENG.)

BEALS, CARLETON, *Porfirio Díaz, Dictator of Mexico.* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1932, pp. 463.)

Mr. Beals, historian and journalist, in this work contributes a striking portrait of Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915) as soldier, statesman, dictator, man of stone, man of iron, man of blood. A product of two races, Mixtecan and Spanish, Díaz seemed from the beginning predestined to become one of the most dramatic figures of the nineteenth century. The author retraces his existence from birth in his native Oaxaca to death as an exile in Paris. Countless details describe not only the strong and weak characteristics of this historic personality but also the vicissitudes encountered by him in his refashioning of a nation. We follow him in his struggles for power in his native state, his reconstruction of the military tradition, the ousting of the French, the seizure of national authority. His rôle as president, as dictator, as an exile are as clearly portrayed. In this thrilling saga, not only do we recognize Díaz as a dynamic, heroic personality, but we also see again any number of ambitious characters whose names history has recorded and with whom Díaz in his usurpation and exercise of power was forced to contend. Nothing of his private nor of his public life is spared us. Mr. Beals obviously assumes that in general his facts are well known for he does not bother to cite his sources. Doubtless one could quarrel with him on this point and also on his interpretation of these facts. The chief defect perhaps of this otherwise interesting work however resides in liberties taken by the author in presenting his material. This is not done in an orthodox, historical manner and, in fact, leans definitely toward the romanticized type of biography so much in vogue. This manner of presentation undoubtedly has its advantages. It is flexible and not too exacting. It is stimulating and colorful. Still, I think, that because of it, and in spite of the undeniable value and usefulness of Mr. Beal's book, historians will accept his Porfirio Díaz only with reservations. (BERNARD A. FACTEAU.)

BERDYAEV, NICHOLAS, *Christianity and Class War.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1933, pp. 123, $1.50.)

Our sinful world is a scene of cosmic struggle and antagonism which are manifested in one way by the class war in the social world. This war is a reality. Christians must align themselves in this war because "it is a Christian duty to look reality in the face and to keep ourselves fully conscious of it." What then should be the Christian's plan of campaign, so to speak, in this war? After salvaging some Marxisms, then giving a psychology of classes and meticulously isolating the germ of the bourgeoisie, the author answers the Christian substantially thus: He must be on the side of the workers and of work, but he must beware of that tendency in the workers which can and does make most of them bourgeois, and he must belong to or strive for a spiritual aristocracy. In his exposition of a philosophic basis of Christian conduct in this war the author says many things with which both saint and sinner "in this sinful world" can not but sympathize and which

true Christians have long held precious. Indeed some truths enunciated are far older than Christianity. Thus: "When falsehood has been once legitimated, all those who make use of it appeal to the law, which is accordingly often made to shelter injustice." Plato has said that. Again: "Herbert Spencer once said that you cannot expect golden conduct from leaden instincts." That truth is found in Plato's immortal life. Such reminiscences of crystalline Attica are quite in harmony with the tone of the book. But there is a woeful lack of definition. War has a specific meaning and must take place under certain conditions. On neither point does the author spend any time. More unsatisfactory is the term Christianity. Long since has gone by the day when man ordinarily could have direct instruction from Christ. And in spite of the fact that He left an authoritative and executive body with one head, there are any number of acephalous bodies called Christian. Which body will breed the spiritual aristocracy so desiderated in the author's last chapter? Then too, no matter how limited may be our acceptance of Christ, we must admit that the leaven of a spiritual aristocracy has been working in the mass of humanity. (THOMAS J. MCGOURTY.)

BEYENS, BARON, *Quatre ans à Rome, 1921-1926: Fin du Pontificat de Benoît XV, Pie XI, les débuts du Fascisme.* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1934, pp. iv, 306, 18 fr.)

Baron Beyens, who was Belgian minister in Germany immediately before the war, spent the last years of his diplomatic career as ambassador of his country to the Vatican. While in Rome he kept a daily journal of all that transpired, and it was this journal which supplied the material from which the present memoir was written. The major events of international politics and the alterations in Italian national life due to the advent to power of Mussolini and his black shirt followers fill the pages of this interesting volume. (JOHN J. MENG.)

BLANC, GABRIEL, *Lourdes et la libre-pensée: Cinq causeries apologétiques.* [Collection "Verité!"] (Paris, P. Téqui, 1934, pp. 49, 2 fr. 50.)

In these few pages are presented in attractive form five telling arguments in support of the authenticity of the cures at Lourdes. As the title indicates, they are written specifically for the benefit of free-thinkers. (J. J. M.)

BOASE, T. S. R., *Boniface VIII.* [Makers of the Middle Ages.] (London, Constable and Company, 1933, pp. xv, 397.)

In this biography, the author has presented Boniface VIII in a manner to offset the injuries done to his memory by misrepresentation. Mr. Boase is plainly sympathetic to the great pontiff whose reign marks the end of the medieval papacy. This pope is presented as the great administrator, the accomplished canonist and as a founder of modern international finance. He does not attempt to make a saint of Boniface VIII who lacked the great qualities demanded of a candidate for sainthood. The work furnishes a fair tribute to an illustrious pope. It is to be regretted that the author did not deal with Pope Celestine V in a more understanding fashion, since it is evident that he was not in sympathy with the saintly hermit of Monte Morone who ascended the papal chair. (GEORGE B. STRATEMEIER.)

BONTOUX, G., *Les Aveux de J.-J. Rousseau sur des questions capitales de l'heure présente.* [Collection "Verite!"] Paris, P. Téqui, 1934, pp. vi, 69, 2 fr. 50.)

In his *mandement* condemning Rousseau's *Emile*, Msgr. de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, emphasized as one of the greatest evils of that famous volume the fact that its author mingled "great truths with great errors, faith with blasphemy." The same statement may be safely applied to practically all of Rousseau's works. The author of the present brochure argues that when one hears Rousseau quoted in support of a false thesis, the most satisfactory method of destroying that thesis is to "oppose Rousseau to Rousseau." In order that this may be done more readily, M. Bontoux presents here the "great truths" defended by Rousseau. (JOHN J. MENG.)

BORGMANN, HENRY, C. SS. R., *The New Interpretation of The Mass.* (Baltimore, John Murphy Co., 1933, pp. 258.)

A rather novel and interesting interpretation of the Mass. The main part of the volume consists of two divisions. In the first the author gives his explanation of the Mass of the Faithful and in the second part the explanation of the Mass of the Catechumens. The reader will find in both these sections much that is worth while for meditation and in the case of the clergy for preaching. The Introduction is a fine collection of notes on the liturgy. This little volume is indeed a real contribution to the furthering of the liturgical studies now being carried on so extenseively. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

BUCKLAND, C. S. B., *Metternich and the British Government from 1809 to 1813.* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1932, pp. xxii, 534.)

The work under review adds another worthy monograph to the growing number of specialized studies in the diplomatic history of the Napoleonic period. Mr. Buckland divides his subject into eleven chapters, the first four of which are in a sense introductory to the main theme.

The story of Metternich's relations with the government of the Prince Regent begins with the former's appointment to the post of foreign minister to succeed Count Stadion in 1809, and ends with the rupture of the Franco-Austrian Alliance in 1813 and Austria's throwing her weight on the side of the "Good Cause." No startingly new information has been uncovered by the author's research which would be of a character to upset the generally accepted views anent the main lines of Austrian and British policy during those years.

The great Austrian minister, whose career has been treated so thoroughly by Professor Srbik and more recently by Cecil and Herman, emerges from the pages of Mr. Buckland's book retaining about the same general delineation as given to him by his biographers. His tortuous policy, involving as it did outright double-dealing, for example when we find him protesting friendship for England and simultaneously signing an alliance with Bonaparte (pp. 330-334), stands out prominently. Yet in the general inferences to be drawn from his facts Buckland does not differ essentially from the findings of Professor Srbik to whom all students of Metternich must ever remain indebted.

The work is very heavily documented. The array of footnotes at the

bottom of almost every page attests admirably the amazing number of Foreign Office despatches which Mr. Buckland has read in the Public Record Office and the manuscript materials he has consulted in the British Museum. In the fore part of his book he prints a table of the manuscript material cited and gives here the general description and place of origin of each document. Likewise he adds a full bibliography of printed sources and secondary works. It is to be regretted that the author did not get into the materials in the Vienna archives, for although he is dealing with the problem from the point of view of the British government *vis-à-vis* with Metternich, yet the latter's side of the story would be more adequately presented if Mr. Buckland had tapped the manuscript materials in Vienna and other continental archival centers as thoroughly as he did those of London.

Several minor typographical errors were noted, such as a "t" missing in the word "that" in note 6, p. 19; then presumably the word "was" is omitted from the sentence in the 10th line from the bottom of p. 136; and in the 3rd sentence at the top of p. 167 there is something missing which makes the sentence meaningless as it stands. The statement on p. 249, used in speaking of the state of Italian opinion early in 1811, would warrant further explanation: ". . . it would still be useful for Bentinck to know the exact state of the Italian public mind—as if Italians had a mind"! Why works of this kind which give unquestioned evidence of the fine scholarly attainments, vast reading, and industry of their author, are allowed to appear without an index is indeed difficult to understand. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS).

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE, ed., *New Governments in Europe. The Trend Toward Dictatorship.* [The Foreign Policy Association.] (New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1934, pp. xiv, 440, $2.50.)

Although we are more intimately concerned with changing conditions in our own country at the present time, we cannot fail to notice the important alterations in political institutions that have taken place on the other side of the Atlantic. The Foreign Policy Association answers our natural queries with the publication of this largely objective study of the new governments of Europe. Vera Micheles Dean is the author of a prefatory chapter entitled "The Attack on Democracy," of five excellent chapters on "Fascist Rule in Italy," and of a clearcut exposition of "The Political Structure of the Soviet State." Government in the Baltic states, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, is outlined by Malbone W. Graham. The least objective study of all those included in this volume is Mildred S. Wertheimer's "The Nazi Revolution in Germany." "Spain Under the Republic" is the title of the final section, which was written by Bailey W. Diffie. (JOHN J. MENG.)

CANIVEZ, D. JOSEPHUS MARIA, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, Tomus I. (Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 1933, pp. xxxi, 533.)

The statutes will appear in five volumes, of which this is the first. The work has been painstakingly compiled from manuscripts, many unedited, preserved in the libraries of the Order. It is a unique source of medieval

atmosphere, as well as of facts. The statutes concern, in major part, domestic or inter-conventual problems; but the problems are living, each interwoven with the manners, customs and habits of thought of its own age. They speak of methods of barter, media of exchange, rents, taxes and inter-state travel. They add tissue and tendon to the student's skeleton ideas of feudal society. They were written, not by annalists, but by legislators whose aim was the solution of instant problems, not the casting of rhetorical periods. The chapters were held annually. Their importance in the eyes of Church and State is evidenced by letters from Frederick Barbarossa and other statesmen, and from the occasional presence of the Holy Father at the sessions. A concise introduction, including a catalogue of sources with a critical estimate of each, aids in the appraisal of the work's many values. (S. J. McDonald, O. Carm.)

Catalogue of an Exhibition Illustrative of the History of Literature. (New York, printed for the Catholic Club, 1934, pp. 52.)

The Catholic Club of the City of New York, since its foundation in 1871, has taken particular pride in building up a library of exceptional merit especially in the field of literature. From a few thousand volumes at the beginning, it now has a total of thirty thousand. Some three hundred items, considered as the outstanding pieces in the collection, were exhibited in the club's rooms at the Waldorf-Astoria from March 26 to April 23, 1934. The *Catalogue* contains an annotated list of those writings which were considered the chief volumes from the standpoint of rarity and historic interest. Among the one hundred and fourteen listed, there are two manuscripts, one of the twelfth, the other of the thirteenth century; fourteen incunabula; many rare volumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and some particularly fine rare editions of later writers, such as Sir Walter Scott, Joseph Hume, Wordsworth, Henry Grattan, Lowell, Newman, and Stevenson. The *Catalogue*, like the exhibition, is illustrative of the history of letters in that it gathers together interesting items which have in common only the fact of rarity, intrinsic beauty, or historic importance. (Charles M. Daley, O. P.)

Cavanagh, Sister Agnes Bernard, S. S. J., *Pope Gregory VII and the Theocratic State.* (Washington, The Catholic University of America, 1934, pp. xiv, 143.)

One would take more kindly to this dissertation were it written more objectively and confined, as we assume it should be, to a discussion of the theories about church-state relations. Time-worn insinuations and charges will persist if scholarship loses its temper to the extent of calling Henry IV a man of a type "hypocritical, unscrupulous, and faithless," to which "debasement and humiliation means little, provided they offer the means of success" (p. 59). Too little thought, likewise, is given to the politico-economic ramifications of the investiture quarrel. By way of background much more might have been made of the reasons for and the implications of Charles the Great's and Otto II's policies with respect to the Church, especially when their respective systems fell into the hands of less capable successors troubled by situations unforeseen to their great forbears. Then again, why cite Danou

who wrote in 1811, Mosheim who wrote in 1861, among those who "even at the present time . . . still see him (Gregory) as the puppet of unbridled ambition and unchecked lust for power" (p. xi)? (F. J. T.)

CAYRÉ, R. P. FULBERT, *Les Sources de l'amour divin: La Divine Présence d'après Saint Augustin.* [Bibliothèque Augustinienne.] (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., 1933, pp. viii, 271, 12 fr.)

According to this author, Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas differed in the "style" of their teaching rather than in the truths which they taught. While each was distinct in his manner of treating theological questions, both men were essentially in accord (save on certain philosophic points) on the fundamental issues at stake. Their methods are complementary rather than contradictory. These observations hold true for the problem which Père Cayré deals with in this volume. As though a preface from the pen of Jacques Maritain were not sufficient distinction, this book, though French in origin, is supplied with a most satisfactory alphabetical index. (JOHN J. MENG.)

CHEVALLIER, DOM, *Le Cantique Spirituel de Saint Jean de la Croix, Docteur de l'Eglise. Traduction du texte espagnol.* (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., 1933, pp. 270, 20 fr.)

This is an abridged edition of Dom Chevallier's larger work bearing the same title, but containing more complete critical notes as well as the original text of the *Canticle.* The present edition includes the author's exceptionally fine "Introduction," a French translation of the *Prologue* and *Canticle,* and extensive commentaries on the text. (J. J. M.)

CLARK, CHESTER WELLS, *Franz Joseph and Bismarck: the Diplomacy of Austria before the War of 1866.* [Harvard Historical Studies, XXXVI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, pp. xv, 635.)

In that extensive revision of the history of the Bismarckian age which has been going on of late, as a result of the general opening of European archives and a flood of new source-publications, American scholars have taken a notable part. Just at the point where Professor L. D. Steefel broke off his recent masterly study of *The Schleswig-Holstein Question,* Professor Clark, of Princeton University, begins an equally competent reappraisal of the two years' diplomatic duel between the two great German powers which led up to the bloody *dénouement* on the fields of Sadowa, the final loss of Austria's historic position in Germany and Italy—the true end of the Holy Roman Empire—and the beginnings of German unity under Prussia.

It is difficult to see how the work could have been better done. In the first place, the author brings to his task a wider range of documentary sources than has been used by any previous writer. He has exploited fully the archives of Vienna, Berlin, and London, with some gleanings from those of Baden and of Washington; and an appendix containing 47 pages of important and hitherto unpublished documents suggests the wealth of his findings. The critical bibliography at the end shows a very adequate acquaintance with the enormous mass of printed sources and secondary works bearing upon the subject. Complete command of his material; the most painstaking accuracy

in matters of detail; a clear and orderly presentation of diplomatic manoeuvres and counter-manoeuvres; a readable, not too heavy, at times very forcible style; excellent judgment; and a Cisatlantic detachment and impartiality rarely equalled by the patriotic Austrian and German historians who have battled over this field—such are some of the many merits of Professor Clark's volume.

While the documentary evidence available is, on many questions, still far from complete, the author has thrown much new light upon almost every phase of Austria's foreign relations between 1864 and 1866, particularly upon such controverted matters as the Schönbrunn conversations of 1864, the genesis of the Gastein Convention, Mensdorff's "peace offensive" in the spring of 1866, the Gablenz mission, the secret Austro-French agreements made on the eve of the war, and Austria's arduous but successful campaign to rally the German Middle States around her for the impending conflict. In the face of the widespread tendency among German historians of late to hark back to Sybel's view that Bismarck sincerely desired to raise Prussia's position by honest coöperation with Austria, rather than by fighting her, the author convincingly reaffirms the long prevalent view that Bismarck regarded such coöperation as only a very temporary expedient, believed throughout that the German situation could be cleared up only by blood and iron, and was the conscious instigator of the War of '66. The chief problem to which Professor Clark addresses himself is to assess the individual responsibilities of those Austrian statesmen who led their country to disaster. Under this scrutiny Rechberg and Mensdorff come forth not too discreditably; even Esterhazy was by no means such a scourge as was afterwards thought; the talented visionary, Biegeleben, is rather severely castigated; but the chief blame is placed at the door of the Emperor himself. Nevertheless, as between Franz Joseph and his advisers on the one side and Bismarck, Roon, and Moltke on the other, it was a case of men of duty facing creative artists, men of average ability against geniuses. And the author frequently suggests the view that, grave as were Austria's difficulties and weaknesses, her resources and the embarrassments of her opponent were also so great that the odds against her were by no means hopeless. If only she could have made up her mind in time to sacrifice what was left of her Italian position in order to save her ascendancy in Germany! "One can hardly resist the conclusion that by conciliating France and Italy Franz Joseph could have prevented a Prussian victory during the 1860's, gained an opportunity for internal consolidation, and secured Bismarck's fall" (p. 499). As late as March, 1866, "the sacrifice of Venetia . . . would have spared her the war, ruined Bismarck's policy, and preserved Austria's position in Germany" (p. 441). But "honor and dignity"! "Wir waren sehr ehrlich, aber sehr dumm," the Emperor wrote afterwards. (R. H. Lord.)

Clayton, Joseph, *St. Anselm: A Critical Biography.* [Science and Culture Series, Joseph Husslein, S. J. (Ed.).] (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co., 1933, pp. xxvi, 165, $1.75.)

Mr. Clayton has given us a popular account of one of the outstanding thinkers and statesmen of the Middle Ages. It is, however, not so much as a

philosopher that Mr. Clayton presents St. Anselm, but as the opponent of the English Kings William II and Henry I. The background of his action, the question of investitures in England, necessarily involves the author in a discussion of the continental contest. The origins of this quarrel he succeeds in portraying without taking into account either the Ottonian policies of which Henry IX was heir or the Lotharingian-Cluniac reform movement of which Gregory VII was an exponent. For Mr. Clayton, too, the eleventh-century schools are still very limited in scope; nor is it quite accurate to say that no uniform rule must be looked for in Benedictine monasteries of the eleventh century. An index, however meagre, is always convenient. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

COUGET, HENRI, *Notes de Pastorale: Lettre à un jeune Prêtre.* (Paris, Bonne Presse, 1934, pp. 64.)

Magnum in parvo—this little brochure by the pastor of the Church of Saint-Roch in Paris contains wise and prudent suggestions to young priests entering the practical work of the ministry. The section on preaching is admirably done. Canon Couget's treatise should not be overlooked by the teachers of pastoral theology in our seminaries. It deserves to be translated.

DE LA GORCE, AGNÈS, *Un Pauvre qui trouva la Joie: Saint Benoît Labre.* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1933, pp. 253.)

Saint Benedict Joseph Labre was born in France in 1748; after several unsuccessful attempts in his youth to enter religious life, he became a pilgrim in the medieval sense. He finally settled in Rome where he died on April 16, 1783. He was canonized in 1881. Mlle. de La Gorce has written the biography that was needed of this most singular of all modern saints and she has answered adequately the common opinion that the name of Labre "est devenu synonyme de malpropreté, de regression, d'ignorance." American readers will welcome this life of a saint whose miracles were the cause of John Thayer's conversion in 1783. The many translations of Father Thayer's account of his conversion made Saint Benedict Labre known the world over before the end of the eighteenth century. The book has a good bibliography but, like all French publications of this kind, no index. (P. G.)

DE MONLÉON, DOM, *Le Christ-Roi.* [Collection de la Revue du Christ-Roi, IV.] (Paris, P. Téqui, 1933, pp. viii, 127, 5 fr.)

This is a brief presentation of the ideology behind the recent institution by Pope Pius XI of the feast of Christ the King. (J. J. M.)

D'ESCHEVANNES, CARLOS, *Un Chrétien et un Savant: Pasteur, sa vie, sa foi, son oeuvre (1822-1895).* [Collection "Je Sème."] (Paris, P. Téqui, 1934, pp. xv, 236, 10 fr.)

The author of this brief study of Pasteur has succeeded in demonstrating the essential agreement between the great scientist's Faith and his profession. M. d'Eschevannes has published many new documents pertaining to Pasteur's life, as well as a list of his writings. A complete bibliography of works concerning Pasteur is a valuable addition to the volume. (J. J. M.)

DE RAVIGNAN, R. P., *Dernière Retraite . . . donnée aux religieuses Carmelites. . . .* (Paris, septième édition, P. Téqui, 1933, pp. xii, 268, 10 fr.)

The conferences which make up this publication were given by Père de Ravignan during the month of November, 1857, shortly before his death, to the Carmelite nuns of the Rue de Messine, Paris. The words of this venerable priest have proven of great value to various orders of the ecclesiastical life, as this, their seventh edition, testifies. (J. J. M.)

D'IRSAY, STEPHEN, *Histoire des Universités Françaises et Etrangères des Origines à nos Jours.* Tome I: *Moyen Age et Renaissance.* (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1933, pp. xii, 372.)

This is an admirable study and fills a long prevailing gap in the history of culture and learning. After a historical and bibliographic introduction rich in material, the author describes the early origins of the study of liberal arts. It is followed by a chapter on the University of Paris and the study of theology; then a chapter on the University of Bologna and the study of law; and a chapter on the schools of Salerno and the University of Montpellier and the study of medicine. Through the Middle Ages the author leads the reader adroitly to the Renaissance and ends this first volume with a critical review of contributions to learning during the periods of Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

The book is beautifully illustrated and should be in the libraries of every scholar and student who possesses the mastery of the French language. (L. I. STRAKHOVSKY.)

DÖLGER, FRANZ JOSEPH, *Antike und Christentum: kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien.* Band IV, Heft 3. (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934, pp. 153-232, RM. 5.)

The quarterly, *Antike und Christentum*, solely produced by Dr. Dölger, has already been favorably noticed in an earlier issue of this REVIEW. In addition to several short notices this *heft* contains two extensive studies, the one on the symbolism used in the building of early Christian baptistries, the other on the *sacramentum infanticidii*. The former searches into symbolism of the number *8* and the octagon in connection with the sacrament of baptism and the places in which it was administered, particularly the Ambrosian church of Saint Thecla, Milan. The latter deals with a popular accusation by the pagans of the early Christians, for which many of them won their crowns of martyrdom. Tertullian, *Ad Nationes* (I, 7, 23), refutes at length the charge that the Christians soaked the sacramental bread in the blood of babes sacrificed in the course of their rites (*Cf.* Ayer, *Source Book for Ancient Church History*, pp. 62-64). Dr. Dölger examines the possible origins of the idea contained in the charge and comes to the conclusion that the pagan mind may have derived it from old Greek, Italic and Roman oath confirmations through the murder of a human being and the consumption of some of its flesh and blood, or from pagan magical rites involving the killing of children which rites also called for a partial consumption of the child's flesh and blood, or possibly from a similar practice obtaining among certain of the more extreme Gnostic sects. That the pagans should put the Christians under indictment

for such misdeeds was not strange because they had accused the Jews of the practice (the pagans for a long time did not take the trouble to distinguish Christians from Jews) and the Christians exposed themselves to misunderstanding by referring to the Holy Eucharist in terms of John vi, 54. In spite of the refutation of Tertullian and those of many other Fathers of the Church the masses held tenaciously to the false belief as can be seen from Origen's *Contra Celsum*, VI, 27, *ca.* 245. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

DOERR, OTMAR, *Das Institut der Inclusen in Süd-Deutschland.* [*Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benedictinerordens* herausgegeben von Ildefons Herwegen, O. S. B. Heft 18.] (Münster in Westfallen: Asschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934, pp. xvi, 168, RM. 8.25.)

The fanatics of the Middle Ages who shut themselves up in narrow cells, even immured themselves to live in solitary confinement lives which in the world might have been very useful, have long been the subjects of criticism. The real fanatics, of course, turn out to be the critics who on very little base so much. The institution Dr. Doerr describes is no more, but perverted ideas about it linger, dying hard deaths. Dr. Doerr reviews the evolution of the institution and details the conditions of immuring, the ceremonial, life in the cell—and incidentally, the *inclusus* or *inclusa* were not walled up so that communication with people was impossible. A favorite place of immuring was the city gate, where from the window of the cell the populace could receive instruction and advice from the immured whenever it chose to seek it. Then follows an exhaustive study of South German cases from the ninth century to the seventeenth when the practice passed out of existence. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.)

DUESBERG, Dom HILAIRE, O. S. B., *My Faith, What Does It Mean to Me?* Translated by ADA LANE, B. A. (OXON.). New York, Benziger Brothers, 1933, pp. xi, 274, $2.00.)

This book is a challenge not only to the Catholic laymen but also to the cleric of whatever grade. As regards the latter it is an implicit criticism of his method, but the criticism is inspirational. As regards the layman of university antecedents and his *aequales* it states that "his knowledge of the Church is rachitic and badly acquired, and that he is aware of the fact." The layman often wonders why all the Latin, all the ritual, why the insistence on the interior life and the need of understanding where goodwill is not lacking. And further why is the moral code so rigid, why is religion communal, and why must there be suffering and care.

The author bases his answers to those questions upon data which Christians alone admit, and in answering he makes clear to them the deep harmony existing between their religion and human nature. And to the Christian the author cogently demonstrates the power of his religion. For coming upon this book after reading much of the fine, striking attitudinizations toward present problems and blinking from glittering generalizations about our evils and remedies for them is like coming into an old church where the sanctuary lamp red and flickering catches our attention. Our thoughts receive a new impulse,

much of the terminology of a sputtering world becomes as hideous as an electric sign in the sunlight, while many a term of the Church's diction and many a statement of her position which we had indifferently accepted are now understood and realized. It has always seemed that the demand for a reason of the faith that is in us, especially from a Catholic, is a rather thoughtless demand. This book does not attempt to fulfill that large order; but to the honest, literate man who believes in the divinity of Christ the book gives a grasp of truths which no educated man can lack and which deserve more than a polite hearing. (THOMAS J. MCGOURTY.)

DUPLESSY, EUG., *La Bataille de Lourdes.* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1933, pp. xii, 221.)

When in the middle of the nineteenth century the Blessed Virgin took the liberty of appearing at Lourdes without having obtained the permission of the French Government she could not but expect that her adventure would arouse the distrust of the people and the hostility of the powers that be. But when on top of her intrusion she asked for the erection of a temple, then she committed a offense unknown in the annals of the police. And finally her appearance was quite improper in the scientific nineteenth century. The Blessed Lady came too late.

In this pleasant manner we are introduced to another fine book by the author of *Zola and Lourdes.* Summing up the attack upon Lourdes in the phrase, "Too late" (that is, apparitions are out of date, pilgrimages are out of date and so are supernatural cures), the author shows how the reality of the apparitions was attacked, then when in spite of the attack the pilgrims kept increasing, the faith of the pilgrims was attacked, and when that attack failed, the cures were attacked. These attempts "to demolish" the apparitions, then the pilgrimages, lastly the cures, led the author to choose the title *The Battle of Lourdes* and to divide his book thus: The War on the Apparitions, The War on the Pilgrimages, The War on the Cures.

Forty years ago Chanoine Eug. Duplessy impressed all France by a humorous and convincing reply to scepticism and science which were having their usual merry time over the supernatural events at Lourdes. Since then the author's geniality and astuteness have not diminished a whit. He gets along quite well with the theologians of the Grand-Café. The writer spends most time on the fact of the apparitions, rightly saying that that fact together with its proof is not so well known to modern readers. But if one wonders why so many good people go to Vichy instead of Lourdes he will find this and similar questions answered in this book. Though the recent canonization of Bernadette and the diamond jubilee of her great experience make this book timely, yet it has in itself the perennial charm of clear thinking. (THOMAS J. MCGOURTY.)

EUSTACE, C. F., *Romewards.* (New York, Benziger Brothers, 1933, pp. 329.)

This book is a welcome addition to a hopeful literature which is being multiplied. It offers the Catholic Faith as the only answer to the confusing questions and needs of the hour. Unfortunately it is rather hard to read,

especially in its opening chapters. The writer credits his readers with a knowledge of philosophy which few people have acquired. His book is intended to be popular. This is evident from numerous passages, of the nature of interludes, where he becomes conversational in style and almost trite in content. But this effort to be popular is not sustained. In his enthusiasm he pursues his own familiar thoughts without sufficient remembrance of those who are out of breath in their desire to follow him. There is therefore a danger that many who begin this book will not have the courage or perseverance to finish it; although the interest grows as it lengthens. There is another objection to be made. Despite the promise of a logical development of the theme from fundamentals, there is a great deal of repetition and confusion. This becomes positively irritating. If less ground were covered, and if each detail were disposed of before another is dragged in, the reader would not be so perplexed. All this may sound very ungenerous to a work which is above everything else honest and enthusiastic; and one which has been selected as an offering of the Catholic Book Club. In any case the writer will not object to criticism since he tells us that book reviewers seldom have any ideas of their own. They cannot, in his case, plead the excuse he makes for them. He suggests that they are bewildered by the lack of purpose in modern literature. His book is bursting with thoughts of great and high purpose. (EDWARD HAWKS.)

FARNSWORTH, ALBERT, and O'FLYNN, GEORGE B., *The Story of Worcester, Massachusetts.* (Worcester, The Davis Press 1934, pp. 214.)

Dedicated to the boys and girls of Worcester, the purpose of this very attractive volume is to place before them in convenient compass the story of the rise and development of their fair city. Among the Catholic names mentioned in the volume is that of Father James Fitton whose *Sketches* still remains a valued source for the history of the Church in New England. Professors Farnsworth and O'Flynn have written a careful and accurate sketch which should find its way into all parochial schools. (P. G.)

FLEMING, MOTHER STANISLAUS, *Life of the Right Reverend Mathias Loras, D.D., First Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa.* Compiled by a Sister of the Visitation. (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1933, pp. 216.)

A generation has passed since the *Memoirs of Bishop Loras* (New York, 1897) were published by his nephew, Rev. Louis De Cailly. There was at that time serious consideration of presenting the saintly bishop's cause to the authorities at Rome for beatification. This "highly spiritualized personality," as Bishop Rohlman of Davenport calls him in this contemporary biography, led a remarkable life in the pioneer days of the old Nortwest; indeed, many have compared him to St. John Vianney and have called him the Curé d'Ars of America. The author of this Life (Mother Stanislaus Fleming) passed away before its publication, but she has given us in the short compass of two hundred odd pages an entrancing sketch of social and religious conditions in the Iowa of a century ago. Her work should be known to all the descendants of those who profited by Bishop Loras's teaching and example. (P. G.)

FLETCHER, Canon JOHN RORY, *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey.* (Devon, South Brent, 1933, pp. 172.)

The story of an English *Doppelkloster* which begins at Sion House, now the seat of the Duke of Northumberland, in 1415, and wends its sorrowful way through martyrdom, confiscation, and centuries of exile in Belgium, Spain and Portugal, where the community experienced the horrors of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, the French invasion of 1809, and finally took refuge again near its old home in England. The Brigittines, now solely a community of nuns, is the only English religious Order of women which can trace its ancestry in an unbroken succession back to the century before English protestantism.

FRIEDMAN, LEE M., *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, pp. 3, 34.)

This essay falls somewhat short of expectations: it is neither a well grounded nor an exhaustive study of the topic. For example: Grosseteste is by no means a "long forgotten figure" and he was not one of the first (presumably) bishops to preach to the laity in England. Grosseteste's attitude toward the Jews, furthermore, is not necessarily that of a "radical" but was well in line with the papal dictates, albeit, it must be confessed, this attitude was not that of many of the feudalized prelates of his day. Well taken is Mr. Friedman's brief exposure of Simon de Montfort's conduct with respect to the unfortunate minority. (F. J. T.)

GARRIGUET, R. P. L., *La Vierge Marie.* (Paris, Téqui, 8th ed., 1933, pp. 460.)

No treatise on the dignity, privileges, merits, glory and worship of the Blessed Mother of God has been so popular in France as Father Garriguet's simple yet eloquent work. He writes for the lay Catholic mind, unused to dogmatic or scholastic terminology, and yet at the same time so strengthens his pages with citations from theological and hagiographical sources that the book will serve admirably for those whose duty it is to teach or to preach the doctrine on Mary's share in the Redemption. Above all else the book will serve for meditation. It has all the logic of presentation which abounds in most treatises published by the scholarly clergy of France. For those interested in the latest development of Marian theology, chapter XV (*De la Part que Marie a prise à notre Rédemption*) may be recommended as one of the best in the book. (P. G.)

GARRISON, WINFRED ERNEST, *The March of Faith.* (New York, Harper Brothers, 1933, pp. 332, $2.50.)

This is a dreary book about a dreary subject: the record of American sectarianism since 1865. It should be named the "March of Disbelief," since it describes the gradual crumbling of definite religious convictions. The writer does not seem to be alarmed about this; possibly because he is bored to death by his own subject. We do not blame him. A definite religion, no matter how deficient, is a matter of interest. To write about sects which have no longer any reason for being sects is to become a statistician. It is like trying to discriminate between dishes that have all been cooked in the same pot. Quantity must take the place of quality. It may be gathered from

the book that all ministers do the same thing: they energize with reference to alcohol, militarism, citizenship and various social and economic matters; the last thing that engages their zeal is the Faith that they were ordained to preach. To those who know anything of the history of the Catholic Church the book is largely a record of petty things. It has a somewhat cynical flavor which is reminiscent of Sinclair Lewis. It follows his method in being, to a large extent, a digest of newspaper clippings. This makes it of value to those who wish to find the dates of clerical scandals and other ecclesiastical inconsistencies. To aid them there is an excellent index and a very full bibliography.

The treatment of the Catholic Church is so inadequate as to be quite unworthy of notice. The writer seems to feel that he ought to be polite, so he says the little he does say in a generous spirit. Incidentally he shows a strange misunderstanding of Modernism, to which he appears to be favourable. (EDWARD HAWKS.)

GATES, PAUL WALLACE, *The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work.* [Harvard Economic Studies, No. 42.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934, pp. xvi, 374, $4.00.)

Historical records, it seems, must rot or be scattered before historians may use them. Professor Gates, however, has rescued, thanks to the foresight of some "hard" business men, what is still to be found of the records of the Illinois Central and inaugurated, we hope, a series of railroad studies. Graduate students will do well to supplement their *Bernheim* with the pages which Professor Gates devotes to an analysis of his sources (pp. 335 *seq.*). The reviewer recalls Professor Dodd's interest in railroad studies and Professor Gates has well realized the ambassador's dreams. The volume is more than a history of a great railroad; it is a study of life in the Illinois west as it was called into existence by that railroad. It has been well said: "Amusingly enough the transportation of goods and passengers seems to have been sunk into almost minor importance in the complicated development of a new region." Some chapter titles will indicate what Professor Gates has done: constructing a prairie railroad, land speculation, town site promotion, advertising the "garden state of the west," competition for foreign immigrants, colonizing the prairies of Illinois, land sales and collections, promotion of agriculture, the granger movement. (F. J. T.)

GIBBONS, JAMES Cardinal, *La Foi de nos pères.* Tr. by Abbé Adolphe Saurel. (5th ed., Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1934, pp. xxvi, 474, 15 fr.)

No finer tribute could be paid to Cardinal Gibbons' great work, *The Faith of Our Fathers,* than constantly recurring editions in various languages. They bespeak the world-wide appeal of this masterpiece of apologetics. The present volume is the fifth French edition translated from the twenty-eighth English edition. (J. J. M.)

GILLESPIE, JAMES EDWARD, *A History of Geographical Discovery, 1400-1800.* [Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1933, pp. viii, 111, $1.00.)

Professor Gillespie has condensed in a small volume an amount of erudition

and original research unlooked-for in a series of publications such as the Berkshire Studies. Although "designed as a week's reading" for college students, this particular study is worth much more serious consideration. Its only deficiency seems to be in the lack of two or three key maps, which would enhance the visual qualities of the text. (JOHN J. MENG.)

GILLIS, JAMES M., *This Our Day, Approvals and Disapprovals.* (New York, The Paulist Press, 1933, pp. xi, 397, $4.00.)

It has been the fashion to label periods of history and their aspects with catchwords. There have been the tragic era, the mauve decade, the brown decades and the gay nineties. Not the least merit of this volume is the simple title, *This Our Day*, together with the apt headings of the editorials that the book contains. The book is a collection of editorials selected from those written by Father James M. Gillis and published in the *Catholic World* during the years from 1922 to 1933 inclusive. Dr. Joseph J. Reilly of Hunter College writes an introduction which the book does not belie and from which many a phrase suggested a fetching title to adorn this series of essays which "reflect from countless angles a brilliant mind and a dedicated spirit at one in the task of bringing the world a little closer to the Kingdom of God." But no title could be at all adequate to the contents of this remarkable book in which in a clear and vigorous style the author comments on literature, politics, education, social conditions, the stage, the cinema, individuals, various "isms," and religion. If one is looking for a just appraisal where the matter of those topics is concerned, he will find this book a mine of sound criticism. Of entertainment there is no lack, but the reader will be irritated at times, for the book has its share of iconoclasm, not done however with a sledge hammer. (THOMAS J. MCGOURTY.)

GOYAU, GEORGES, and P. de LALLEMAND, *Lettres de Montalembert à La Mennais, avec deux portraits.* (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., 1932, pp. xxviii, 323.)

The letters included in this important collection were written between the years 1832 and 1836. They give vivid testimony of the affection with which the youthful Charles de Montalembert regarded the Abbé de La Mennais. Exclusive of their purely historical value, these silent witnesses of a by-gone day delineate vividly the intellectual crisis through which Montalembert passed when he was about twenty-five years of age. They are preceded by an introduction from the pen of Georges Goyau, whose name, coupled with that of Mlle. de Lallemand, should be sufficient warrant for the high quality of the critical notes which are plentifully supplied throughout the pages of the volume. (J. J. M.)

GUGGENHEIM, HARRY F., *The United States and Cuba.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xvi, 268, $2.50.)

In view of the recent action of the United States Congress concerning Cuba, Mr. Guggenheim's volume should have a special appeal. It treats as matter of historical record the political and economic relations that have existed between the United States and Cuba since the Spanish American War. The

author, for four years (1929-1933) United States Ambassador to Cuba, appears well qualified to write on this subject. His presentation of it in the volume under review impresses one as a frank and impartial statement of facts. He concedes that in the relationship between the United States and Cuba mistakes were made by both and he offers recommendations that in the light of recent events are extremely interesting. (F. B. S.)

HOLT, W. STULL, *Treaties Defeated by the Senate.* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. vi, 328, $3.00.)

This study includes all the treaties lost in the senate from 1789 to 1919. The failure of these treaties is attributed to three causes: namely, indifference, the determination of the senate to assert its own treaty-making power in opposition to that of the executive, and to the struggles of party politics. Important treaties have not been considered on their merits in the senate when they ran afoul of senatorial jealousy or when the opponents of the administration could make political capital of their defeat. The author devotes a chapter to a "notable exception"—the treaty of peace with Spain in 1898; he is of opinion, however, that even in this instance party politics determined the issue. The last and best of the ten chapters, covering one-fifth of the volume, is concerned with the Treaty of Versailles. Indeed the book might be considered as an historical explanation of the defeat of that treaty in the senate. Running through the volume are observations of statesmen regarding the growing inefficiency of a treaty-making machinery which permits the senate through the manipulation of a minority, sometimes a small minority, to nullify enlightened policy. The book is readable, scholarly, and keen in its analysis of situations and motives. (Sister LORETTA CLARE.)

HUME, EDGAR ERSKINE, *Lafayette and the Society of the Cincinnati.* [Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. vi, 63, $1.00.)

One hundred years have passed since the death of General Lafayette, citizen of France and of America. It is appropriate that his connection with the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was one of the earliest members, should be commemorated by this account of his activities in that organization. Major Hume has included several previously unpublished parts of the Washington-Lafayette correspondence relating to the establishment of the French branch of the society. The format of the volume is most pleasing. Four full-page illustrations, combined with the typographical excellence that characterizes the publications of the Institut Français, help to make this a worthy addition to any library. (J. J. M.)

JOLOWICZ, H. F., M. A., LL. M., *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law.* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1932, pp. xxi, 545.)

The purpose of this work is to give students an historical introduction to the study of Roman Law, and thus to supplement Buckland's *Text-book* and *Manual.* While the main emphasis is on the sources of the law and the constitutional developments—the Republican constitution in particular being described and analysed in detail—considerable space is devoted to the dis-

cussion of procedure and the Roman judicial structure. Furthermore, the author has included short chapters—in fact too short and too general—on the social and economic changes in the various periods of Roman history, which changes were such potent factors in the evolution of law.

The book is well suited to serve its purpose, and it should indeed be welcome to those who have tried without previous training in Roman Law to grapple with the technicalities of Buckland. It is not to be thought of, however, as a mere elementary manual. Jolowicz discusses in copious footnotes the problems that present themselves at each stage of his exposition, and shows good critical judgment in his handling of controversial points. He obviously has control of the ancient sources and the modern literature in his field. The last chapter, on the General Character of the Post-Classical Law, is a good specimen of his ability to deal with controversial matter. His appreciation of Riccobono's work here, although he dissents in the main from the latter's views on the question of Oriental influences, is of special interest to the writer of this notice, who several years ago had the pleasure of attending a course of stimulating and penetrating lectures on the organic development of Roman Law in the Late Empire given by Professor Riccobono while visiting professor at Catholic University. The writer does not subscribe to Jolowicz's views on a number of points, but criticisms in detail are out of place in a brief notice. Let it suffice to say that the work on the whole is excellent and is an invaluable aid to all students of Roman history. (M. R. P. McGuire.)

Kidd, B. J., D. D., *The Counter-Reformation, 1550-1600.* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933, pp. 271, $3.40.)

In this little volume, manifesting long study and research, Dr. Kidd traces the efforts made by the Catholic Church between 1550 and 1600 to recover the losses sustained in membership and influence as a result of the Protestant revolution in Northern Europe. He takes the term "Reformation" in the sense commonly accepted also by Catholic writers. As a matter of fact, however, the innovations of the so-called reformers constituted heresy and schism. Had there been a reformation in the sense of a revival of Catholic doctrine and discipline, there would have been no counter movement on the part of the Church. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Catholic movement after 1550 against the inroads of Protestantism cannot be called properly a counter-reformation. It was at bottom a continuation, officially recognized and supported, of a spiritual revival which men of foresight and courage had advocated and pursued long before the Council of Trent. Though the author refers to such efforts for reform within the Church, he leaves unnoticed the Franciscans, then known as the Observants. And yet, not only were they reformed within their own ranks when the so-called Reformation began, but they were also the earliest and the staunchest in the struggle against the innovators, in Germany as well as in England. Again, over half of the religious who played a prominent rôle in the Council of Trent were sons of St. Francis, Observants and Conventuals. This is certainly significant. Not to find recognition of this and the preceding fact in the volume under review is, to say the least, disappointing. Barring an obviously erroneous statement at page 17 and a few other statements that might be justly questioned, the vol-

ume forms an accurate and well-written compendium of the history of the Catholic revival in Europe during and after the Council of Trent. (F. B. S.)

KLEIN, DOROTHEE, *St. Lukas als Maler der Maria—Ikonographie der Lukas-Madonna.* (Berlin, Oskar Schloss Verlag, 1933, pp. 127.)

The author of this highly critical and exhaustive study traces the changes that the famous painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which tradition ascribes to the Evangelist Saint Luke, underwent at the hands of artists who flourished during the Middle Ages. Appended to the volume are the author's "Notes" referring to the text of the study and forty-seven rare illustrations representing Saint Luke as painter of the Madonna. To the history of Christian art the study under review is evidently a valuable contribution, and it may well serve as model for other critical investigations along similar lines. (F. B. S.)

LE GAUDIER, S. J., R. P. ANTONII, Castro Theodoriciani, *De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis.* Accedunt duo opuscula: *De SS. Christi Jesu Amore* et *De Vera Christi Jesu Imitatione*; ac Index Alphabeticus Rerum et Verborum quae in toto opere continentur. Editio Emendata cura et studio P. A. M. Micheletti ejusdem Societatis in Collegio Apostolico Lenoniano in Urbe; V. Praesid. et Ecclesiasticae Paedagogiae Professoris. Editio stereotypa. (Taurini, Italia, ex officina libraria Marii E. Marietti, 1934, Tomus I, pp. 664, Tomus II, pp. 536, Tomus III, pp. 468.)

Père Le Gaudier, S. J., died in the year 1622, three years after his extensive work was first published (in 1619). Since that early day, several editions of his *De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis* (and the two minor works specified above) have appeared, the latest being that of last year. It might accordingly seem like carrying coals to Newcastle if a reviewer were to enter into any detail in a description of the three volumes and the three works noted above. The two minor works occupy pp. 343-437 of Tomus III, but are relevantly added to the main work. In all, the reviewer estimates that the three volumes contain some 700,000 words in Latin (and would probably contain several thousand more in an English translation). No just appreciation of such a work could be given in a brief notice. But the various editions appearing adown more than three centuries supplemented by the above-noted stereotyped edition concur in giving a silent testimony to the perduring value of the author's zealous labors. Meanwhile, however, when the reviewer considers the bibliographical aspect of the various editions, he seems to be looking through a dark glass. In his preface (dated May 1, 1902), Padre Micheletti, S. J., complained of his difficulties in obtaining a copy of the great work, because of "ipsius operis raritas." For instance, a copy of an edition prepared at the suggestion, and with the help, of Father Roothaan, General of the Society of Jesus, in 1855, "vix, ac ne vix quidem, reperiri potest." He found a copy of the 1619 edition, however, and used it as a basis for a better printed but less expensive modern edition. If the 1855 edition became so rare that Fr. Micheletti found it practically impossible to obtain a copy, it would also seem that the 1902 edition soon became equally

rare. Thus Fr. Heerinckx apparently was unaware of the work of Fr. Le Gaudier, when he was writing his *Introductio in Theologiam Asceticam et Mysticam* (issued in 1931 by the same publishers as the edition of 1934 of Le Gaudier's work, previously published in 1902), for in the some 500 names mentioned in the *Index Onomasticus* of Heerinckx's book the name of Le Gaudier does not even appear. Similarly, Fr. Tanquerey was unaware of the 1902 edition of Le Gaudier's great work when the 6th edition of the *Précis de théologie ascétique et mystique* appeared in 1928, since in the *Bibliographie* he refers to Le Gaudier's work as a "new edition" issued in 1857. One is tempted to moralise on the slight diffusion and rapid disappearance of classical Catholic works—but this is not the reviewer's task, and he prudently refrains from comment on the dark glass through which he is looking. (H. T. HENRY.)

LEJEUX, JEANNE, *Sculpture religieuse.* [*Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences religieuses*, no. 57.] (Paris, Librairie Bloud et Gay, 1934, pp. 224, 12 fr.)

The particular value in this manual lies in the fact that it traces the evolution of religious sculpture in relation with the historical movements which affected its course. Primarily written for the French public, the work treats little of sculpture beyond the limits of France, too little, perhaps, to justify the title which it bears. (F. J. T.)

LHAND, Pere PIERRE, S. J., *L'Inde Sacrée Grandeur et Pitié D'un Monde.* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1934, pp. 261.)

In this volume the author, who has considerable first-hand information regarding social, political and religious conditions of India, has given his critical views of various problems—primarily religious problems—facing the people of this great country. He has discussed religious ideals of orthodox Hindus and those of the neo-mystical movements of Hinduism. He has devoted several chapters on the condition of the untouchables and the future of Christianity in India. After giving a graphic description of the miserable condition of the untouchables he gives critical views of religious and political significance of the recent movement for the regeneration of the untouchables, championed by Mahatma Gandhi. It is his conclusion that although the Gandhi movement has helped the untouchables, it does not offer the final solution of the problem. He contends that through the spread of Christianity among the people, the ideal of social justice will prevail in India and thus help the Parias to assert themselves as the children of God. Of the 3,000,000 Catholics of India, the majority of them are from the so-called Paria class of Southern India, although there are some from the upper classes. The author emphasises the necessity of systematic missionary activities among the people of the upper castes as well as the Parias of India. He gives a short but an excellent account of the activities of St. Francis Xavier and others who have worked for the progress of the Catholic movement in Southern India. The book contains excellent photographic illustrations. Those who are interested in spreading Catholic missionary activities in India will find the book useful and informative. (TARAKNATH DAS.)

L'Immaculée Vierge Mère de Dieu: l'Histoire et la Doctrine empruntées aux meilleurs auteurs spirituels. (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1934, pp. 223.)

A work of devotion based on the writings of Father Faber, Father d'Argentan, and others. (P. G.)

McCLOREY, JOHN A., S. J., *The Making of a Pulpit Orator.* With a Foreword by the Very Rev. Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, Ph. D. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. xix, 193, $2.00.)

The author's reason for writing his book "was to resurrect among clerical students and priests interest in an art which is nearly defunct." It is accordingly not a manual of elocution or of homiletics, although helpful chapters of this kind are found in the volume. It is rather a series of excellently devised arguments designed to meet the unwise excuses alleged for careless preaching, as well as of illustrations of the various ways in which the studies pursued in theological seminaries can be made to pay handsome tribute to the business of preaching the Word of God. The author's delightful style ought to make the reading (and the meditating) of the volume a pleasure as well as a profit to clerical students and priests alike. (H. T. H.)

MARCHAND, CHANOINE, *La Faillite initiale du Protestantisme.* [Collection "Je Sème."] (Paris, P. Téqui, 1934, pp. xvi, 259, 10 fr.)

This volume is a well-balanced discussion of the fundamental errors of Protestantism. It traces back to Luther and to Calvin the mistakes which explain the present-day lack of unity and agreement among the Protestant sects. (J. J. M.)

MARIE ALMA, Sister, C. I. M., *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1845-1934.* (Philadelphia, Pa., The Dolphin Press, 1934, pp. 347.)

This volume efficiently portrays the history of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, a teaching community, founded by the Reverend Louis Gillet, C. SS. R., at Monroe, Michigan, in 1845. How thoroughly his noble purpose, which was to supply teachers for children deprived of educational opportunities, succeeded, is told in the growth and spread of the community and likewise in the development of the educational work effected by the sisterhood.

Pioneer education and its progress, despite the lack of facilities, is well depicted. The hardships endured by the early members who happily bequeathed both spiritual and material success to their future co-religious are thoroughly recounted. In addition the author gives us a glimpse of the beautiful soul of their founder. She acquaints us with the ability of the Mother Generals, and delineates in full the generosity and lofty ideals of the ecclesiastics under whose direction the sisterhood has toiled.

The labors of Sister Marie Alma are praiseworthy and she certainly is deserving of great merit. She has rendered a valuable service by bringing together these visible and external facts which build a road that leads from the present through the past to the origin of her laudable community. Happily for the sisterhood this road does not lead the reader through swamp

regions, but through fertile and cultivated lands, full of growth and sunshine in God's kingdom here below. (Sister M. Salesia, O. S. B., M. D.)

Petitalot, R. P., S. M., *Un Mois de Marie: sur la vie de la très Sainte Vierge.* (Paris, Téqui, 1934, pp. 229.)

Meditations for each day of the month dedicated to the Mother of God with excellent examples from the lives of the saints. (P. G.)

Rensch, Hero Eugene and Rensch, Ethel Grace, *Historic Spots in California: The Southern Counties.* (Stanford University Press, 1932, pp. xxvii, 267.)

Rensch, H. E. and E. G. and Hoover, Mildred Brooke, *Historic Spots in California: Valley and Sierra Counties.* (Stanford University Press, 1933, pp. xxvii, 597.)

Historic Spots in California represents an honest effort to bring together into two volumes an account of the colorful past of the southern, central and Sierra counties of California in a most practical form. Following the introduction by Robert Glass Cleveland of Occidental, the study is taken up by counties, each county forming a chapter to which there is appended a generous working reference to trustworthy sources. In this series of historical vignettes, the student and scholarly-minded tourist has at hand a most convenient guide to his studies and intelligent travelling. The narrative is full of interest and is packed with information. The early conquistadores and friars; missions, rancherías and ghost towns; expeditions and battles; scenes of festivity as well as tragedy and romance; nomenclature and modern historical memorials; physiography and the places rich in the realm of natural history are woven together to form a picturesque and informative story of the past. To insure historical exactness, the authors have endeavored to eliminate "as far as possible, old fictions and inaccuracies current in California history."

There is nothing about these books that savors of cheap advertisement or of flamboyant eulogy; all is done with dignity and serenity. No collection of Californiana should be without these volumes. (Maynard Geiger, O. F. M.)

Retté, Adolphe, *Au Pays des lys noirs.* [Collection "Je Sème."] (3rd ed., Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1934, pp. xxx, 317, 10 fr.)

The "souvenirs" of Adolphe Retté find re-expression here. They are accompanied by an excellent biographical introduction from the pen of René Duverne and several unpublished photographs of their noted author. (J. J. M.)

Robitaille, Abbé Georges, *Études sur Garneau. Critique historique.* (Montréal, Librairie d'Action canadienne-française, 1930, pp. 255, $1.00.)

In these pages the Abbé Robitaille has successfully answered the misinterpretations incorporated by François-Xavier Garneau in his well-known *Histoire du Canada.* "Mgr. de Laval et ses historiens" is the title of the two final chapters of the book. (J. J. M.)

Routh, E. M. G., *Sir Thomas More and his Friends, 1477-1535.* (London, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xxii, 251.)

Like Mary Queen of Scots Sir Thomas More is in these days receiving in

death the justice that was denied him in life. Although More has been the most written-about man in English history ever since his son-in-law, William Roper, produced the first *Life*, there are only of late available critically edited editions of his *Utopia* and *Apologye* and a book of selections from his English writings, all from the Oxford Press. As for Mr. Routh, he enters into More's life and his relations with his friends through the medium of his works and especially his letters. It seems to us that he has succeeded where Dame Elizabeth Wordsworth, who encouraged his work and provided it with a foreword, has failed; namely, in reconciling More's perfectly Catholic loyalty and even sanctity with his friendship with Erasmus, the biblical critic, the satirist or contemporary ecclesiastical abuses, etc., and with faithfully "doing the king's business." One must also express appreciation for the excellence of the plates, some of them photographs taken from originals in Windsor Castle and the British Museum. (F. J. T.)

ROUZIC, LOUIS, *Le Maréchal Foch. L'homme, l'œuvre, l'inspiration.* [Collection "Je Séme."] (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1934, pp. xiv, 111, 5 fr.)

This is a short discussion of the work of the Allied Generalissimo, accompanied by an introductory letter of M. Bienvenüe, cousin of the Marshal. It consists of a course of lectures delivered at the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève before a group of young students preparing for entrance to the Ecole Polytechnique. (J. J. M.)

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES, *Les Rues de Québec.* (Quebec, Lévis, 1932, pp. ix, 220.)

Fortunate indeed would be the tourist in Quebec to have Dr. Roy as a guide through the city. But since this privilege cannot be enjoyed by everyone, Dr. Roy has had the happy idea of gathering in book-form the historical facts connected with the names of a hundred streets. Like the *Pensées* of Pascal or the *Maximes* of La Rochefoucauld the book may be opened at any page; the reader is always sure of finding interesting data. In the introduction, the author gives a brief historical summary of the city of Quebec. He states that out of the 450 streets in Quebec, less than forty were opened during the French period. The majority of the street names are French; however, the author deplores the fact that "trop de noms étrangers désignent nos rues." In the index, are listed alphabetically the names of the streets with their page references. A city map should have been included. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

RUBIO, Rev. DAVID, O. S. A., Ph. D., *Classical Scholarship in Spain.* (Washington, D. C., privately printed, 1934, pp. 205.)

Strange to say, there is no complete history in Spanish of the classic literature of Spain. The works of Pellicier and of Menendez y Pelayo have opened up only a few phases of the subject. This lack Dr. Rubio attempts to supply, though he modestly calls his work a "tentative essay" on the question. An introduction carries the reader to the Spanish Renaissance and there follows an excellent *catalogue raisonné* of the Spanish and Catalonian humanists of the last five centuries. To the author's credit there is an ample index to the book. (P. G.)

RUBIO, Rev. DAVID, O. S. A., Ph. D., *La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la Colonización española.* (Madrid, 1933, pp. 257.)

To the constitution of this University, one of the oldest in the Americas, Doctor Rubio, Associate-Professor of Spanish Language and Literature at the Catholic University of America, has contributed a valuable introduction on the educational development of the Spanish American colonies (*La instrucción pública en las colonias españolas de America*), to which he has added a short history of San Marcos University (*Breve historia de la Universidad de San Marcos*), from the pen of D. José Baquijano. The entire volume is a good source-book for the history of Catholic education in New Spain. (P. G.)

RYAN, EDWIN, *Candles in the Roman Rite.* (Baltimore, A. Gross Candle Company, 1933, pp. xvi, 35.)

The increasing interest in liturgical arts reaches a high point of expression in this excellently written and beautifully printed brochure on the use of candles in the Roman rite. The many full-page illustrations, some in color, are good, but they do not reach the height of excellence attained by Dr. Ryan's text. (J. J. M.)

SCHULTE, Rev. PAUL C., *The Catholic Heritage of St. Louis.* (St. Louis, Mo., printed by the *Catholic Herald*, 1934, pp. 279.)

The pastor of the Old Cathedral of St. Louis has penned in this short compass a history of the Catholic beginnings of the city of St. Louis. For eighty years after the foundation of the city in 1764, the Catholic population consisted of one congregation belonging to what is now affectionately called the Old Cathedral. The names of priests well known to all Catholic historians of the United States loom large in these easy-reading pages—Father Meurin, Father Peter Gibault, Fathers Valentine and Bernard de Lampach, Father Ledru, a Dominican, Father Didier, O. S. B., of the ill-fated Gallipolis colony, Father Janin, the Irish Capuchin, Thomas Flynn, who took charge of the parish at the beginning of the nineteenth century and who was followed by the wandering group of Trappists under Father Urban Guillet, and others up to the coming of Bishop Du Bourg in 1815. From that time until Bishop Rosati became first Bishop of St. Louis (1826) and thence to our own day, the progress of the Faith is depicted in eloquent pages by the author who with justice and affection dedicates his work to that outstanding scholar, Msgr. John Rothensteiner. Numerous and valuable illustrations, particularly archival facsimiles, abound in the volume. Its only defect is the absence of an index. (P. G.)

SYDNOR, CHARLES SACKETT, *Slavery in Mississippi.* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933, pp. xiii, 270, $3.50.)

This book is a comprehensive and exhaustive analysis of the institution of slavery. It contains a wealth of detailed information concerning the daily life of the slaves: how they worked and lived; how they were cared for and controlled, punished and rewarded, bought, sold, hired; why they ran away. In addition, it contains certain noteworthy contributions on the broader aspects of slavery. The reason for the antagonism between planter and slave

trader is clarified. The aim of the African colonization movement was really to rid the South of the free negro and only in a very indirect way was it intended to promote manumission. The strongest defenders of the institution did not belong to the planter class itself. In general, one would say that this book proves that slavery was far less civilizing and humane than has been believed. It shows conclusively, that maintaining a high moral level in the community life of the plantation depended upon several favorable factors, one or more of which was invariably lacking. The author was fortunate in his choice of a field of study for Mississippi was a frontier state of the Black Belt. It drew heavily from all the older states for its planter and slave population. It was a buyer of slaves. In short, it was typical of the Southwest. The book manifests deep research and scholarly attack. It is well documented and has an extensive bibliography. It is an essential tool for the student of slavery. (Sr. MARGARET MARY DUFFEY, O. U. S.)

TROTTER, REGINALD GEORGE, *The British Empire-Commonwealth: A Study in Political Evolution.* [Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1932, pp. ix, 131, $1.00.)

What is the British Empire-Commonwealth, and how did it develop? These are questions seldom answered without considerable research and some difficulties on the part of American students and professors alike. Professor Trotter supplies us with the answers in clear and concise form, and to them appends a bibliographical note that is brief but satisfactory. (J. J. M.)

VAN DER ESSEN, LÉON, *Pour mieux comprendre notre Histoire Nationale.* (Louvain, Editions Rex, 1933, pp. 152, 20 fr.)

Here are reprinted some twenty-eight of Professor Van der Essen's articles dealing with various phases of Belgium's history previous to the formation of the Belgian national State in 1830. Although not accompanied by the usual annotations of historical scholarship, the name of their author and the character of the essays themselves vouch for the authenticity of the facts which they contain. (J. J. M.)

VINACKE, HAROLD M., *International Organization.* (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934, pp. 483.)

Professor Vinacke has written an exceedingly clear and well organized account of the field of international organization. Those interested in a college text or desiring general information should not ignore this work. Starting with an analysis of the character of the modern state and its international implications, the author proceeds to portray the various means by which these states are today developing increasingly the technique of international coöperation. Voluntary associations, such as the Pan American system, the non-League conferences, the use of arbitration machinery in settling international disputes and finally the work and organization of the League and Permanent Court are all handled in succession. Constant reference to the most recent developments keeps the book alive at all points. Footnote citations to further sources are frequent, but a bibliography would

have made the book possibly more usable to some. However, this is an excellent, balanced and judicial treatment of international organization. (S. K. STEVENS.)

WILLIAMS, N. P. and HARRIS, CHAS., *Northern Catholicism: Studies in the Oxford Centenary and Parallel Movements.* [Literature Committee of the English Church Union.] (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1933, pp. xvi, 555, $2.50.)

This is a collection of studies written by Anglican authorities on the various phases of the revival of Catholic life in the English Church and in the Anglican communion at large. It covers every aspect of the subject in an interesting and informative manner. For a symposium, it is peculiarly even in both temper and style. There are the natural conflicts between Anglican teaching and Roman Catholic dogma but none of it is argumentative. As a background to the study of Anglican leanings toward the Catholic Church or an understanding of the Oxford Movement, it will be of reading value and of reference use in Catholic college libraries. (Sr. MARGARET MARY DUFFEY, O. U. S.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Study of History. N. Sykes (*History*, September).
Métahistoire: subhistoire, histoire, culture. Eugénio d'Ors (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July).
History Falsified by Omission. Hilaire Belloc (*America*, October 6).
La part de la chronique juive dans les erreurs de l'histoire universelle. H. Bruders, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, November).
Scientific Naturalism: a Platform for the Church Historian. Vergilius Ferm (*Journal of Religion*, October).
How Did Culture Spread? Albert Muntsch, S. J. (*Thought*, December).
Rights without Duties. J. T. Adams (*Yale Review*, Winter).
The Place of Gnosticism in the History of Christian Thought. P. S. Kramer (*Anglican Theological Review*, October).
Penance in the Early Church. Most Rev. M. Sheehan (*Australasian Catholic Record*, October).
The Heretics of the Church and Recurring Heresies: Nestorianism. G. D. Henderson (*Expository Times*, November).
Church and State in Tertullian. F. H. Hallock (*Church Quarterly Review*, October).
Pliny and the Early Church Service: Fresh Light from an Old Source. C. J. Kraemer, Jr. (*Classical Philology*, October).
Northern Africa in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, IV. Hugh Pope, O. P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, September, October).
Peter's Pence. P. W. Browne (*Ecclesiastical Review*, December).
Ptolemy the Geographer. F. J. Betten, S. J. (*Thought*, December).
Witchcraft, II. C. H. C. Williamson (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October).
One Youth Movement. A. J. Barrett (*Commonweal*, December 7). Sodality of Our Lady, 1563.
The Society of the Atonement: Its Genesis and History (continued). T. J. O'Connell (*Lamp*, October, November).
The History of our English Catechism. R. J. O'Brien (*Ecclesiastical Review*, December).
The Catholic Melkites (concluded). B. B. (*Pax*, October).
La necessità di un episcopato indigeno in Cina dimostrata nel 1787 dal Segre-

tario di Propaganda Stefano Borgia. Vittorio Bartoccetti (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, September).

El precursor de la Acción Católica en China. J. Dorronsoro, S. J. (*Razón y Fe*, August).

Los Precursos del Congreso Eucarístico de Buenos Aires: la Devoción al Santísimo de los Conquistadores y Pobladores de América. C. Boyle (*Razón y Fe*, October).

Some Brazilian Colonial Historians, I. A. K. Manchester (*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, September).

EUROPEAN

Le diplôme de Charles le Chauvre, du 13 juillet 876, pour l'abbaye de Beaulieu-en-Limousin. Ferdinand Lot (*Moyen Age*, April-June).

William of Dijon: a Monastic Reformer of the Early XIth Century. Watkin Williams (*Downside Review*, October).

Frère Richard et Jeanne d'Arc à Orleans, Mars-Juillet, 1430. J. de la Martinière (*Moyen Age*, July-September).

Blanchardism and the English Vicars-Apostolic. Horace Whelan, S. J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, September).

Cajetan: His Claim to Renown. Anselm Vitie, O. P. (*Dominicana*, September).

El Monastir de Frares de la Peniténcià de Jesucrist de Barcelona (1260-1293). Luís Feliu (*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, X, fasc. 1).

Los alumbrados españoles en los siglos XVI y XVII (concluded). B. Llorca (*Razón y Fe*, August).

Christentum und Frauentum im deutschen Mittelalter. Anton Koch (*Stimmen der Zeit*, October).

The German Lutheran Struggle. K. F. Reinhardt (*Commonweal*, October 12).

Catholics in Germany. (*Commonweal*, December 7).

Kardinal Franz Ehrle. Martin Grabmann (*Stimmen der Zeit*, September).

Le concordat entre le Saint-Siège et l'Autriche. A. Van Hove (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, September-November).

Bernard of Compostella. Geoffrey Barraclough (*English Historical Review*, July).

Profili di missionari: S. Ansgario di Corbia. G. Frediani (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, September).

The Vatican Polyglot Press. Henry Watts (*America*, November 10).

The Ambrosian Library. Jane Grate (*America*, December 15).

Nikolaus von der Flüe (1417-1487). D. M. Campbell, O. S. B. (*Pax*, November).

A Catholic Erastian in Russia. O. Bennigsen (*Month*, September). Career of Father Siesbizencewicz, 1773-1826.

BRITISH EMPIRE

Some Customs of Catholic England. Mabel Willison (*Irish Rosary*, October).

Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (with documents). V. H. Galbraith (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, IV, no. 3).

Some Monastic Artists and Craftsmen. Carol Coward (*Green Quarterly*, Autumn).

The Rise of English Vicarages. R. F. Naftel (*National Review*, September).

St. Thomas of Canterbury's Opposition to Henry II. H. W. R. Lillie, S. J. (*Clergy Review*, October).

The Franciscans and the Statute of Mortmain. A. G. Little (*English Historical Review*, October).

The Sanctuaries of Old London. Charles Pendrill (*Contemporary Review*, September).

Stephen Langton. W. L. Scott (*Canadian Bar Review*, October).

John Bede Polding, II. J. J. McGovern (*Australasian Catholic Record*, October).

Cardinal Bourne and St. Sulpice. P. Boisard, S. S. (*Voice*, October).

Origins of the Office of English Resident Ambassador in Rome. B. Behrens (*English Historical Review*, October).

Mr. Hilaire Belloc and Oliver Cromwell. Isaac Foot (*Contemporary Review*, November).
Lollardy. H. M. Smith (*Church Quarterly Review*, October).
Externals of Church Worship and Church Government in Scotland under Charles II. G. D. Henderson (*Church Quarterly Review*, October).
Irish Education in Medieval Ireland, III. James MacLoughlin (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, September).
Studies in Ulster History: the Plantation of Ulster, II. F. Boyle (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October).
Cruise of the *Grace of God*. I. T. McDonald (*Columbia*, November). The Jesuits come to New France.
Les biographies des premières missionnaires de la Nouvelle-France. Albert Jamet, O. S. B. (*Canada Français*, September).
La vie religieuse dans les paroisses rurales canadiennes au XVIIIe siècle: les curés. C. de Bonnault (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, November).
La correspondance de Marie de l'Incarnation. Albert Jamet (*Canada Français*, November).
The *Parti Rouge* and the (Canadian) Clergy. M. Ayearst (*Canadian Historical Review*, December).
Sebastian Zamet, the First Opponent of Jansenism at Port Royal. L. Kemeid (*Downside Review*, October).
Sketches in Indian Life and Religions, XXV. T. P. MacNamara, S. S. J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, September).
The Church in Gandhi's India. K. E. Job (*America*, November 17).
L'origine delle caste presso gli Indu. H. C. E. Zacharias (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, September).

UNITED STATES

Early Days of the American Historical Association, 1884-1895. J. F. Jameson (*American Historical Review*, October).
State and Local Historical Societies in the United States. J. P. Boyd (*American Historical Review*, October).
The Geography of American Achievement. Dumas Malone (*Atlantic Monthly*, December).
The Immaculate Conception: Patroness of the United States. Peter Guilday (*Catholic World*, December).
The Apostle of California. Seraphin Muller, O. F. M. (*Thought*, December).
The Radisson Problem. A. T. Adams (*Minnesota History*, September).
Jean Nicolet. A. H. Poetker, S. J. (*Michigan History Magazine*, Summer and Autumn).
Religious Liberty in Colonial Rhode Island. C. L. Cunningham (*Truth*, September).
Catholics and the American Declaration of Independence (concluded). J. M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, October).
Our First Native-Born Priest (Father Robert Brooke). T. F. Meehan (*America*, October 13).
Father Badin: St. Mary's First Priest. W. S. R. (*Voice*, November).
Silent Years in Texas History. C. E. Castañeda (*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, October).
Archbishop Heiss. Msgr. M. M. Gerend (*Salesianum*, October).
The Reverend Father Blanchet, 1818-1906. L. M. Dimmitt (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, October).
Francis Patrick Kenrick. F. E. Tourscher, O. S. A. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, October).
Senator Walsh of Georgia. Richard Reid (*Columbia*, December).
Maurice Francis Egan: a Reminiscence. Michael Earls, S. J. (*Catholic World*, October).
Woodrow Wilson, Historian. Marjorie L. Daniel (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).
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L'Aglipayisme aux Philippines. O. Vandewalle (*Il Pensiero Missionario*, September).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW.*)

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Duplessy, Eugene, *Exposé de la Religion: Livre Troisième: la Grace par les Sacraments dans l'Eglise catholique* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1934, pp. 505).

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Fanvani, A., *Cattolicesimo e Protestantesimo nella Formazione Storica del Capitalismo* (Milano: Società Editrice, "Vita e Pensiero," 1934, pp. 157).

Fraternidad Hispana and *Le Rayon du Cercle Français* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1934, pp. 80; 79).

Garraghan, Gilbert J., S. J., *Chapters in Frontier History* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1934, pp. xiii, 138, $3.50).

Lacoste, E., *Le P. François Picard, second Superieur Général: Congregation des Augustins de l'Assomption* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1932, pp. vii, 550).

Lenhart, Rev. John M., O. M. Cap., *Catholics and the American Declaration of Independence: 1774-1776* (St. Louis: Central Bureau C. V. of A., 1934, pp. 71).

Lesser, Alexander, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1933, pp. x, 337, $4.00).

Lockwood, Dean Putnam, *A Survey of Classical Roman Literature* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934, pp. xvi, 334, $2.50).

Lowell, A. Lawrence, *At War with Academic Traditions in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1934, pp. xvi, 358, $4.00).

McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, *Christianity as History and Faith* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, xiv, 374).

Meehan, Thomas F., *Historical Records and Studies.* XXIV (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1934, pp. 374).

Moss, Warner, *Political Parties in the Irish Free State* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1933, pp. 233, $3.00).

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Pickthorn, Kenneth, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII.* 2 Vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. 756, $10.24).

Polnitz, Gotz Freiherr von, *Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, Fürstbischof von Würzburg und Hegzog von Franken: 1574-1617* (Munich: Kommission fuer bayerische Landesgeschichte, 1934, pp. 667).

Riegel, O. W., *Mobilizing for Chaos. The Story of the New Propaganda* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1934, pp. 231, $2.50).

Rogers, Rev. Patrick, *The Irish Volunteers and Catholic Emancipation* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1934, pp. xiv, 345).

Scholz, Richard, *Marsilius von Padua "Defensor Pacis"* (*Fontes Juris Germaniae Antiqui*). Vol. I and II (Hanover, Germany: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1933, pp. 637).

Simpson, W. J., D. D., *The History of the Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845* (London: George Allen & Unwin, pp. 304).

Tenborg, Erwin, *Die Messtipendium nach dem Codex Juris Canonici* (Paderborn: Schöningh, Heft. 66, 1934, pp. 199).

Vannutelli, Sac. Primus, *Quaestiones de Synopticis Evangeliis* (Rome: Ferrari, 1933, pp. 105).

Ward, Maizie, *The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition: I: The 19th Century* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1934, pp. x, 428, $3.75).

Weatherford, Willis D.; Johnson, Charles, *Race Relations Adjustment of Whites and Negroes in the United States* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934, pp. x, 590, $3.20).

Wilkinson, Herbert A., *The American Doctrine of State Succession* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. 137).

Williams, Michael, *The Catholic Church in Action* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. 358, $2.50).

Williams, W. E., *The Rise of Gladstone to the Leadership of the Liberal Party: 1859-1868* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934, pp. ix, 189, $2.75).

Wrong, George M., *What has Befallen Us* (Reprint from *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, Vol. IV, no. 1, Oct. 1934).

Yeo, Margaret, *Don John of Austria* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1934, pp. 345, $2.50).

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, editor of *The Commonweal* and president of the Calvert Associates, is the author of many works on historical subjects, the latest of which is *The Catholic Church in Action* (1934).

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